PROGRESSIVE LABOR MAGAZINE

# PL

IRAN EDITORIAL Page 10

Vol. 13 No. 1
Winter 1979-80
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# Social Fascism

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PAGE 2

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Hundreds of s[illegible]ent[illegible] marched against [illegible]ith InCAR and PL[illegible]wrence, Kansas on October 27th

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# PL

*Winter 1979-80* *Vol. 13, No. 1*

**PROGRESSIVE LABOR MAGAZINE**
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The articles appearing in PL Magazine are published because the Editorial Board believes they are generally useful in the ideological development of the international revolutionary communist movement. Only the editorial and PLP National Committee documents represent the official policies of the Party.

# notes and comment

We welcome contributions from our readers on articles in **PL Magazine** and related topics. Both letters, which appear under **notes**, and longer contributions, which are printed as **comment**, should be addressed to:

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## *"The Armed People"*

**To the Editor:**

The article on the **Soviet Army, The Retreat From Revolution** by L.F.G. (Vol. 12 No. 3 Summer 1979) was very informative, generally well thought out, and adds to our understanding of the growth of revisionism in the Soviet Union.

However there is an underlying assumption of the article that requires much more thought. What I'm referring to is the thesis, set forth by Marx and approved by Lenin– the suppression of the standing army, and the substitution for it of the armed people.

Certainly the working class must smash the old bourgeois state apparatus and especially the old standing army. L.F.G. is quite correct to point our the seriousness of the mistake to try to incorporate the old Tsarist officers into the new Red Army as well as the error of elevating technique over politics.

The question I wish to raise is exactly what is meant by "the armed people." Yes, the working class must be armed. But does this guarantee that armed force will be used in the interests of the working class? As we are well aware, the class struggle continues under the dictatorship of the proletariat and even sharpens Contradictions within the working class will continue to exist for a long time. Certainly policy cannot be determined by "who is the fastest gun in the West."

What is fundamentally wrong with the "armed people" thesis is that **it leaves out the role of the party.** The issue is not that the existence of a red army, **per se,** proves that revisionism will triumph. The issue is: What kind of a red army is it? How does it serve the working class? How is it integrated into the working class? As long as there is class struggle, there will be a need for a special state apparatus. The main component of this is **armed forces**—an armed force which is organized and trained to serve the working class. This can only be done if the party controls the armed forces.

Historical experiences in the Soviet Union and China show that the party can go revisionist. This then leads to a transformation of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a bourgeois dictatorship. Some may think that the way to guarantee that the party cannot turn around by having no red army at all. This is pure and simple utopianism in an epoch of intense class struggle nationally and internationally.

Ultimately the only guarantee that revisionism will not triumph is by winning the working class to a high level of communist consciousness. This will be a long protracted process that cannot be solved by simply having no army at all.

**Comradely,**
**A Brooklyn Comrade**

## *Errors in Cartoon?*

**To the Editor:**

The cartoon on pages 60-61 of the Fall, 1979 issue of **PL Magazine** (v. 12, No. 4) contains a number of errors of Marxist economic theory.

Labor power is a social category that exists only in the presence of a propertyless proletariat which has only its ability to work to sell. Thus it is a capitalist economic category. Labor, or work, is the universal aspect of labor power and has existed through the history of humans.

Surplus labor power and necessary labor power did not exist during antiquity strictly speaking. Surplus labor did.

Surplus value could not exist during feudalism which was not a society based on commodity exchange and production for profit. Surplus value only emerges historically in the context of capitalist production relations in which labor power is a commodity.

The above is a simplification. Throughout history there has been commodity production. But only under capitalism does commodity production become the rule rather than the exception. Surplus labor itself is an interesting concept. It has both objective and subjective elements. However, what is "surplus" and what is "necessary" is determined more by class struggle and relations of power than by any criteria of social need.

It is useful that the errors in this cartoon were made in the middle of an article on dialectics and history since the main aspect of the error is the contradiction between the universal aspect of things and the particular aspects. Another problem that the cartoon blurs is the distinction between the relative and the absolute. On the one hand it is possible to divide European history into arbitrarily distinct periods. On the other hand, these distinctions have a relative character and there were a number of similarities among these periods. For example: the contradiction between city life and rural life, male domination, the division of labor. Yet within each of these universals there are important particular differences

from one society to the other.

In conclusion as dialectical materialists we must be flexible enough to keep a firm grasp on the main aspect of a contradiction and the principal contradiction determining the development of any particular process, while at the same time remembering that reality is infinite and many-sided.

**J.G. Brooklyn**

# On Poetry

**To the Editors:**

Here are some thoughts on the two poems published in the Summer 1979 issue. I think **PL Magazine** ought to publish creative work regularly, and that means we ought to publish the best work we have in hand, unless it's really bad work (I'm assuming we're only talking about work that's politically consistent with our line, and preferably work that advances our line and argues strongly for it).

"Motown" is consistent with our line, in coming down for class solidarity and against working-class sellout, especially in focusing on the working-class artist who cashes in on the bourgeois manufacture of culture for a working-class audience, namely rock. It's onesided, I think, in concentrating so exclusively on the rock star—it even, ironically, glamorizes him! I miss a sense of the strong alternative to this rising-star syndrome: the passages about the people he leaves behind him are depressed, uncomplimentary, hopeless.

I'd like in this poem a fuller sense of the writer's own stake: what he's trying to do writing revolutionary poetry, for instance, that makes him hate the star so much. I nevertheless see it as clearly aimed, angry, making its point well. But PLP artists should be more hopeful, for God's sake! More love, struggle, personal force have to get into our art.

# From the Editors

**SUBSCRIPTION PRICE RISE**

Due to the increasing cost of mailing *PL Magazine*, it has become necessary to increase the subscription price for 6 issues (18 months) to $5 with a library/institution rate of $10. We hope to be able to hold the single-copy price at 75c, but contributions are needed.

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**REVISTA PL**

The next issue of *Revista PL*, the Spanish edition of *PL Magazine*, will be out about January 1st, including the *Social Fascism* article which appears here, *Can History Be a Science*, which appeared in the Fall '79 issue (12:4), *Students Must Ally With Workers* from the Spring issue (12:3), *Smash Racism With Socialist Revolution*, which will appear in the Spring '80 issue (13:2) and a new article on recent developments in Central America. Copies of the current issue may be ordered by using the coupon on page 72.

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**HELP WANTED**

Comrades and friends who are interested in helping with the editing or production of *PL Magazine* are urgently needed. If you are able to write, edit or review articles before publication, or to do paste-up or other work on the magazine, please let us know.

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The other poem about the march to the Immigration jail at the Brooklyn Navy Yard also is slow and dispiriting at the start. But its strength is that it goes more deeply into the (imagined, true) experience of workers in that jail. I have some reservations about some of the imagery and phrasing applied to the immigrants: I like very much the hand waving like a sea fan, but the "short thick leggy fingers," and "Indian cheekbones" I could do without because the phrases use shorthand physical references to type somebody—the usual mechanism of racist and sexist stereotyping. These are perhaps residues of racism in the poem's language that, in line with the recent internal on racism in the party, we should edit out in fraternal struggle with the author. On things like this you have to proceed with tact and generosity toward the author, I think. But the ending of the poem I have no reservations about: it does justice to a moment that I too thought was remarkable, a kind of milestone. Except the word "ghetto": I think that's full of racist overtone, in spite of being used by anti-racists in militant contexts. We live in such places: we don't go to see them! Surely **PL** writing should have that tone, of intimate knowledge of the workers, or respect for the texture of their daily lives? J.S. just may not have that first-hand knowledge, which is no crime; but he should be aware of the perspective this gives his poetry about workers.

The writing in "Motown" is tighter, the momentus of the single sentence building to the strong wedding-party image of the ending. The other poem is slack in the middle.

J.S.'s style is apt for political poetry: he can modulate from oppression to struggle; he can put physical texture into political symbols ("raked" with barbed wire is nice!); he has enough cadence to avoid prosiness or versified statement. He is full of implication all the time, so the poem moves beyond itself as an object, moves, and moves us, out into the world where things need doing. My response to the Navy Yard poem was overwhelmingly positive, in spite of all my criticism above: "let's get them out of there!" is the very clear spirit of the poem.

**A Reader**

# *Decay and Rebirth*

**To the Editors:**

In its June 1st, 1979 editorial, the **New York Times** expressed extreme fear over the second law of thermodynamics. Fear of a scientific principle? Well, not quite. It seems that a Belgian physicist, Ilya Prigogine, has formulated some revolutionary changes in one of science's basic assumptions. Dr. Prigogine's research shows that **every** decaying system, physical or otherwise, gives rise to a new and more complex system out of the very decay of the parent system. In a sense Dr. Prigogine has demonstrated the physical necessity for development and progress out of the decay of the old. In short, he has mathematically defined the inevitability of revolution in every system of the universe — physical and social.

It is no wonder that the **New York Times** warned everyone "not to draw progressive, social and psychological conclusions from these discoveries." The science of physics has proven the necessity for special revolution! But what is this change in the second law of thermodynamics? For over 150 years, all scientific disciplines have based their theories on the laws of thermodynamics. As Lehnninger, in his book **Biochemistry** states it, "the second law of thermodynamics... states that all physical and chemical processes always proceed with an increase in disorder or randomness in the world ...orderliness cannot arise spontaneously from disorder." It was always assumed that all systems just fell apart. For example, water evaporates, stars burn out, information becomes scrambled, clothes wear out, and people die. And eventually the whole universe would just wear down to a disordered mass of energy. Therefore, it was believed that all social organizations would always decay into ultimate disorder—merely disorder. That would mean that revolution is a futile gesture, because there would be no continuing progress—only ultimate disorder.

This is where Dr. Prigogine's research comes in. Prigogine has discovered that while a system, any system, is decaying, small portions of that decaying system are using the energy of disintegration to reorganize on a more complex basis, which eventually becomes an entirely new and more complex comprehensive system. In effect, he has shown that orderliness **does** arise spontaneously from disorder. For example, certain disintegrating chemicals give rise to life, shattered stars give rise to new, and decaying capitalism gives rise to a new, more complex social order—socialism.

Engels would be gratified to learn that someone has discovered a mathematical description of the dialectical principle of the negation of the negation. As he pointed out in **Anti-Duhring,** "each class of things therefore has its appropriate form of being negated in such a way that it gives rise to a development." Once again, dialectical materialism, the philosophy which forms the basis for scientific socialism, is vindicated. **Ric Hirst, New York**

# notes and comment

## *The Weber Decision: New Direction on Racism?*

The **Weber** case may indicate that the ruling class has turned away from a strategy of trying to increase or maximize racism internally. The reaction of ruling class media was almost unanimously supportive, the decision included votes from what would be termed "conservative" justices, and the decision may or may not be a reflection of the r.c.'s weakness in its struggles with Soviet imperialists.

It is probably a mistake to make too many inferences from the Weber decision and the reaction to it; yet, I want to raise the inferences I have tentatively drawn for purposes of discussion.

The decision was by a five to two vote, with two judges either sick or not participating. The five justices included Stewart (thought to be generally conservative), Blackmun (a conservative Nixon appointee who is not an open fascist like Burger and Reinquist, also Nixon appointees),and Byron White (an ex-Deputy Attorney General and tough on "law and order"). They were joined by Thurgood Marshal and William Brennan, the "liberals."

One of the judges not participating was Justice Powell, who wrote the majority opinion in the Bakke case. Although it might not popularly be realized as such, Powell's opinion did allow "preference" to be granted women and minorities with regard to graduate school admissions, and, by logical extension, therefore to employment opportunities. In short, even had all nine justices participated, the Weber vote would probably have been six to three, at the

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## *The Myth of Illegal Immigration*

Over the past few years the US Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has systematically created the myth of the "illegal alien problem." There has been a constant barrage of propaganda from Washington and from local INS offices that the United States is being flooded by illegal immigrants from Latin America. Local politicians have seized upon this myth during elections and during budget seasons to justify virtually every urban ill.

In New York City illegal aliens have been blamed for drug pushing, prostitution, crime, overcrowded schools, arson, unemployment among US blacks and Puerto Ricans, etc. Furthermore, INS has claimed that the number of illegal aliens in New York City alone is - at a minimum - 750,000. INS says that the range could be as high as 1.5 million in New York City.

Once the figure becomes accepted - although it is a false one, as we will show shortly - the illegal alien is then charged with not paying taxes while at the same time, consuming vast amounts of City services. The exploitation of this myth by ruling class politicians has become a standard tool for shifting the blame for the rotten services the City of New York offers from the ruling class to the working class. The working class becomes divided amongst itself as the blame for the decline of municipal services is aimed at illegal aliens and, when the occasion warrants it, the municipal unions.

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## *Science and Marxism: New Developments*

Even students in basic sciences are seldom encouraged to deeply study the scientific philosophical basis of their science. Behind all the "objectivity" and abstract mathematics, bourgeois science is in fact full of bourgeois ideology. Since the bourgeois world-views cannot allow a universe of constant flux and development, or qualities and discontinuities, it is little wonder that they have a hard time coming to terms with a universe that contains all these things. As Engels said, "necessity and chance, two main opposites . . . treated separately, become transformed into one another." The bourgeois physicist proves this true by oscillating between absolute determinism on the one hand and total indeterminism and idealism on the other (clearly shown in quantum mechanics). The failure of bourgeois science to encompass quality, discontinuity, change, and contradiction in the universe leads many to reject science and look to mystical explanations of reality.

To serious scientists looking at reality, these failures may be evident, and from time to time they may develop theories with important dialectical content. Such advances are both required for the advance of science and are a threat to the future of the ruling class. Scientists have attacked the mechanistic world of quantity and continuity in a number of ways.

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# comment and notes

## *Weber Decision* (continued from page 5)

closest. I am, of course, suggesting that this is a weird result from a conservative "Nixon-dominated" court.

It might be too simplistic to think that the Supreme Court reflects ruling class thinking and/or strategy in its decisions. However, here we have more to go on—chiefly the response of ruling class media across the country. The response of such worthies as the **N.Y. Times, Time Magazine, The Wall Street Journal,** etc. ranged from slightly favorable to openly approving. One major theme of the media, who apparently consulted with representatives of large industrial companies (as well as their own owners, we presume), was that "The decision makes clear what companies may do, and removes confusion and fear about 'reverse discrimination' suits.'" There was no special sympathy shown toward white male workers like Weber, who normally would bring the reverse discrimination suits. Only a handful of columnists (like the arch-conservative William Safire) have spoken out against the decision. There has not been, to my observation, any attempt by the media to suggest "increased resentments by white workers toward affirmative action because of **Weber**," "Heightened tensions," or any similar claptrap.

Further, it is interesting to note how various groups or interests lined up on the issue, even before the case was decided. I think that business interests (like the National Association of Manufacturers) to the degree that they took a stand at all, stood on the side of "affirmative action" (and against Weber). Again, the theory they seemed to espouse was that they were not against granting preferential treatment to minorities and women, and just wanted to be protected (by the Supreme Court) from "reverse discrimination" suits.

I do know that the AFL-CIO filed a friend of the court brief on the side of "affirmative action," and against Weber. I think that only the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith and some police and firefighting unions filed briefs against the ultimate result and Weber.

Last, a small news article just indicated that a conservative California Court of Appeal (not its liberal Supreme Court) has reversed a lower court decision which had favored some white prison guards, and held that a state **could** grant preferential treatment to minorities under the Fourteenth Amendment. This was the first case after the Weber decision, and decided what **public** employers can legally do. Weber decided only what private employers can legally do, although it apparently was a signal or encouragement to the California court.

I really am not too sure what to make of all this. It just seems as if there is no one "respectable" who is using the Weber issue to whip up race hatred. Re-enforcing this impression was a television special I saw on the Ku Klux Klan. I, at least, thought that the people who had put together the program and made comments were not trying to build the KKK, but were poking fun at it. The reporting was different (or such is my impression) from media reports on the KKK some twelve to twenty-four months earlier, or on the anti-busing group in Boston some years ago.

Am I all wrong, greatly uninformed, or has the ruling class turned away from what seemed to be a clear strategy of pushing racial hatred vigorously, as it appeared ready to do two to five years ago? On the other hand, I note that **Time** recently gave a relatively big spread to Arthur Jensen who has again trotted out his racist theories dealing with IQ in a new book.

If the ruling class has abandoned such a strategy, is it a result of pressure by such groups as InCAR around the Bakke and Weber cases? Is it a recognition that US imperialism is so weak that it (the US) needs a **unified** population, perhaps to fight in the Middle East, etc? Were the rulers facing substantial attack (led by PL, hopefully) if the Weber decision had gone the other way? Beats me; I hope some of you, my comrades, have some answers and thoughts on this. M.W.

## *Immigration* (continued from page 5)

Mayor Koch recently claimed that there were 750,000 illegal aliens in New York City. He used this figure - one that has become fashionable since 1975 - in his legislative program to the US Congress. He had hoped to increase the share of federal funds that New York City would receive under various revenue-sharing programs and grants based upon population. At the same time - this Spring - the New York **Times** ran a series of articles on the extent of the illegal alien problem in NYC and its impact. The usual manure was spread around citing how the presence of all those "illegals" was

wearing down municipal services. Also, for the millionth time illegal aliens were accused of taking jobs away from blacks and Puerto Ricans. Mayor Koch pinned the blame on the decline of municipal services - at least in part - on illegals.

But how does the ruling class or Mayor Koch know if there are anywhere near 750,000 illegal aliens in New York City? Why isn't the number 250,000 or two million? After all, the ruling class spends a lot of tax dollars to determine how many people live in each City through the Bureau of the Census. The Bureau of the Census has determined through elaborate statistical techniques that the population of New York City has declined by almost 650,000 people since 1970.

The Census Bureau uses a technique which employs statistics that are assumed to **reflect** population levels. Through a mathematical formula the Census Bureau claims to be able to estimate the population fairly accurately. Then, every ten years (every five years starting in 1985) the Census Bureau makes a physical count of the population. The physical count is widely known to underestimate the number of blacks and hispanics in the country and in large cities in particular. Hence the Census Bureau "counted" just under eight million people living in New York City in 1970. The undercount of minorities may be as high as 250,000—although there is no way to measure this accurately after the fact. In between the physical counts the Census Bureau uses the statistical techniques to estimate the population on a yearly basis.

These statistical techniques show a decline of the population by some 650,000 from 1970. Assuming that US citizens - blacks and Puerto Ricans primarily are still "undercounted," the population of New York City in 1979 is in the range of 7.2 million to 7.5 million. And there is a wealth of data to show that this is probably the case.

For example:

- The loss between 1970 and 1975 of over 65,000 housing units in New York City. This loss has continued in the poorer sections of the City: East New York, the South Bronx, Harlem. The new housing has been primarily middle to upper income housing, housing that does not cater to low-paid illegal aliens.
- A decline in the school enrollment by over 100,000 children.
- A continual decline in the number of transit riders from 1969 to 1977. The ridership can be measured station by station in the City, and the neighborhoods where illegals are claimed to live show a decline of over 20%.
- A net loss of over 300,000 manufacturing jobs in the period 1970-1975. At various times INS officials claim that illegals in New York City work in jobs registered with the State Department of Labor. At other times INS officials claim that illegals fill jobs such as domestics or housepainters. Almost 750,000 house painters and maids may be more than even New York City can handle! The Census Bureau measured the number of people living in each household in a major survey in 1975 and found that the average number of persons per dwelling unit had declined from 2.76 to 2.67 - the first such major decline in New York City in two decades.

It is clear from these statistics and from many others that could be produced that the 750,000 figure is pure nonsense. Assume for a second that the 750,000 figure were true. Then the population of New York City would be in the range of 7,950,000 to 8,250,000 (this number is the combination of the Census Bureau estimate for New York, **plus** an estimate of the undercount of the resident black and Puerto Rican population, **plus** the "illegal" population estimate). If the ruling class and its mouthpieces such as the **Times** and Mayor Koch really believe the 750,000 illegal alien figure, then how do they account for the decline in housing, in transit ridership, in school enrollment?

Well, they can't. As a matter of fact, Mayor Koch let the cat out of the bag recently when his City Planning Commission Chairman Robert Wagner, Jr. released a report on the **Capital Needs and Priorities For the City of New York.**

This report is an estimate of the Capital Budget needs of the City over the next ten years. The Capital Budget is the document that accounts for the construction dollars the City will pay for new schools, streets, parks, subway lines, etc. The report states the following:

**Population Change**

Not only has New York's population not grown during this decade, it has been shrinking. The United States Bureau of the Census has estimated a 550,000 decline in the City's population between 1970 and 1977. This population decrease has been due, in part, to migration from New York and to the sharp decline in births since the mid-1960's. Between 1960 and 1964, there was an average of 155,000 births to New York City residents each year. By 1970 the number declined to 139,000 and between 1973 and 1977 the average was only 103,000 per year, or 50,000 fewer per year than for each year in the early 1960's.

Some have argued that the Census Bureau's projection fails to take into account the extent of illegal immigration to the City and therefore seriously underestimates the City's real

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# comment and notes

## *Immigration* (continued from page 7)

population. However, other kinds of surveys - particularly of the City's housing supply - reinforce the Bureau of the Census's findings that New York City is significantly smaller than at the start of the decade.

Mayor Koch's own Planning Commission Chairman has repudiated the 750,000 illegal alien figure!

The ruling class has used the myth of the illegal alien to justify racist attacks on the working class. At the same time the ruling class used the illegal alien to break unions and to scab on strikes. True, there are illegal aliens in New York City. How many no can can say; but the number is far smaller than anyone has been led to believe. **Using the same scare tactics that Hitler used fifty years ago, the ruling class succeeded in pitting worker against worker in many areas of New York City.**

With the City facing a fiscal crisis politicians had no trouble in pinning part of the blame on illegal aliens who, by definition, do not vote. Whenever a particular municipal service was being cut it was convenient to blame illegals for the decline. If that didn't work then the politicians could always blame the municipal workers. In all cases **no blame was put on the ruling class** who has walked away from the New York City fiscal crisis with literally billions of tax dollars. The ruling class has made several billion in interest on the bonds sold by the City; others in the ruling class are now taking advantage of huge tax breaks to convert buildings and evict small companies that employ minority workers in the garment district; still others have milked exorbitant profits out of slum buildings and haven't paid any taxes for years.

What the ruling class has realized is that in fact New York City has lost population and they are now planning for a smaller City. But when the ruling class plans for a smaller City, that is the code for even more drastic cuts: layoffs of municipal workers, attrition, deferred repair work, closing of schools, etc. To justify this round of attacks on the working class, the ruling class can no longer claim that the City is growing in size. Hence, the myth of the illegal alien is being questioned

The lessons for the working class are clear. The ruling class has used racism to divide us. The distinction between "legal" and "illegal" is irrelevant for the working class. The only strategy that the working class can pursue is unity against the bosses.

**C.E.**

## *Science and Marxism* (continued from page 5)

Most interesting is the work of Belgian chemist Ilya Prigogine who was awarded the 1977 Nobel Prize for his research. He was interviewed in the **New York Times** article of May 29, 1979, "Scientists See a Loophole in the Fatal Law of Physics." The study of the properties of machines by the rising bourgeoisie of the 19th century lead to the uncovering of the "Second Law of Thermodynamics" which in simplest terms says that given an isolated system, any process will result in a less complex and more disordered system than the original (its entropy increases). The implications to philosophy of this law were not lost on Engels, who discussed the problems in **The Dialectics of Nature**, Engels pointed out the clear implication—that the universe was originally "wound up" (by God?) and spent history merely decaying. The most obvious hole in this gloomy law is that there are NO isolated systems. As David Bohm points out in another excellent book on relativity, we must assume the universe to be at least qualitatively infinite. Since all things constantly interact with all other things, there can be no isolated systems. Prigogine himself says in his interviews, "To speak about the universe as a whole, to call it a closed system doomed by the Second Law, that is an extrapolation that goes beyond the present limits of knowledge."

Even within an isolated system, Prigogine's theory predicts the evolution of "dissipative structures" which gain complexity and order out of the general decay about them. This solution was put forward in general terms in 1939 by Christopher Caudwell, a British Communist who was killed fighting fascism in Spain. "The Law of Entropy is a probability law and yet it is regarded as the basis of the determinism of physical processes. This is again not surprising, since we have seen that accident is an aspect of necessity . . . Becoming means that there is a continual breaking up of domains or orders . . . But each breaking-up or domain-death, involves the emergence of a 'higher' domain or order. This is the emergence of unlike qualities and the basis of novelty . . . This conception of entropy is important as affording a bridge from the lifeless, hopeless, world of physics to the

# notes and comment

## *Science and Marxism* (continued from page 8)

rich pushful world of biology ..." Caudwell also has ideas on the nature of time which resemble Prigogine's insights in his interview. Most importantly, as the interviewer innocently states: "His ideas ...have attracted a rapidly growing following of biologists, behavioral psychologists, astrophysicists, sociologists, and economists." Prigogine says, "it can be possible for physicists and chemists to turn some of their attention to analyzing social issues." "Science can now examine problems of good and bad for large communities." Another scientist is quoted: "it is for societies and the species itself that we can use the dissipative structure as a working model."

The profound political implications were not lost on all the bourgeoisie as on poor Malcome. A **New York Times** editorial on June 2, 1979, says "we can almost predict intellectual trouble. Soon, we fear, it will be snatched up to justify all manner of social psychological, political, and simply crackpot convictions." As they admit, "The idea is attractive and it may even turn out to be revolutionary..." but they warn "it's the sort of loophole that one should inspect very carefully before sticking one's head through."

These ruling class flunkies are aware enough to recognize that "optimism" in politics is very dangerous for a ruling class on the decline.

**K. Hirsch, N.J.**

(Editor's Note)

Bourgeois scientists have long taught that his 'Law of Entropy' "proves" that he order in the universe and everything in it is gradually breaking down. Therefore, they argue that Marx's and Lenin's view that human society is historically developing to higher and higher stages, is "proven" to be wrong. What these bourgeois scientists object to most is the Communist insistence that capitalism will inevitably be replaced by socialism and, at a later stage, communism. And David Bohm shows in **Causality and Chance in Modern Physics**, Werner Heisenberg, the one-time Nazi physicist-turned-philosopher, argues this point. More recently Jacques Monod, ex-member of the French CP, tried to blow new life into this "proof" that socialism somehow violated the laws of physics; his book was pushed strongly in the **New York Times** and college classrooms. Prigogine's "discovery" did disturb the pro-capitalist **Times** editors, as the reader notes. But this "discovery" was made a century ago by Marx and Engels! The lack of a dialectical materialist (Communist) outlook forces even the best bourgeois scientists to walk in a circle.

## *Engels on Thermodynamics*

Recent reports on new aspects of the Second Law of Thermodynamics have been fascinating. The scientific discovery that all decaying systems give rise at the same time to more organized, complex systems provides a far more optimistic and dialectical view than the notion of universal "entropy" where everything just runs down and disintegrates. Readers might be interested to know that Friedrich Engels, one of the founders of dialectical materialism along with Karl Marx, predicted just such a two-sided, dialectical approach to the laws of thermodynamics over a hundred years ago. In his Introduction to Dialectics of Nature (1875), Engels says: "Finally we know that, with the exception of an infinitesimal portion, the heat of the innumerable suns of our cosmic island vanish into space and fails to raise the temperature of cosmic space even by a millionth of a degree centigrade. What becomes of all this enormous quantity of heat? Is it forever dissipated in the attempt to heat cosmic space, has it ceased to exist practically, and does it continue to exist only theoretically, in the fact that cosmic space has become warmer by a decimal fraction of a degree beginning with ten or more zeroes? Such an assumption denies the indestructibility of motion; it admits of the possibility that by the cosmic bodies plunging into one another all existing mechanical motion will be converted into heat and the latter radiated into cosmic space, so that in spite of all 'indestructibility of force' all motions in general would have ceased...Hence we arrive at the conclusion that in some way, which it will some time later be the task of natual science to demonstrate, the heat radiated into cosmic space must be able to become transformed into another form of motion, in which it can once more be stored up and rendered active."

We have thus still another lesson in how principles of dialectical materialism can predict the scientific truths that would take, without the benefit of dialectics, far longer and with many more years of trial and error, to discover—if they were ever discovered at all.

If we apply this dialectical principle to the social world, we see that a more "organized, higher" system, socialism, emerges out of a capitalist system decaying into war and fascism. The "energy" of increased exploitation, rising racism and inter-imperialist warfare is transformed into the revolutionary struggle for egalitarianism, internationalism and the final elimination of all imperialists. The dialectical approach to the laws of thermodynamics, predicted by Engels and now confirmed by scientific research, heralds a bright future for mankind, not merely the morass of disorder and destruction the bosses would have us despair over. D.H.

*Editorial*

# Bosses Plan War for Oil

What seemingly started as a test of nerves between the U.S. rulers and the fascist clique in Iran has brought the world to the brink of war in the Middle East and a giant step closer to World War III.

After three weeks of stalemate over the fate of the remaining hostages in the U.S. embassy in Tehran, the U.S. rulers' troubles in the Middle East have turned into a full-blown crisis threatening the entire U.S. strategic position in that crucial area.

Ever since the loss of the Shah of Iran, who acted as the chief policeman for the U.S. bosses in the Middle East, their control of its multi-trillion dollar oil empire in that region has been unravelling. The Shah and the Israeli fascists were the two military anchors for protection of U.S. interests in the region, but even before the demise of the Shah, which was a body blow to U.S. imperialism, other Arab rulers moved for more control of their oil. The growing independence of the Arab rulers developed apace with the rise of Soviet military might and the general decline of the U.S. rulers.

Thus, a twin set of factors acted to cripple U.S. imperialism. It was no longer the sole military power in the Middle East. And the Arab nationalists extracted a much larger share of the oil profits.

The U.S. bosses have tried desperately to reverse this situation. They believed that the Egyptian-Israeli "peace" pact would stabilize this key area of the world. But since the pact was signed, the Middle East has been more unstable than ever. Realizing that their blood-soaked oil empire was slipping from their grasp, they, and they alone, created a provocation which they hoped would enable them to reassert military control of the Middle East.

*WAR MANEUVERS: U.S. rulers prepare for war over Middle East oil, sending carrier Kitty Hawk to the Persian Gulf, while trying to whip up anti-Iranian, pro-war hysteria at home with lurid stories and pictures of Iranian demonstrators.*

The ruthless U.S. imperialists knew when they took the murderous Shah into the U.S. that the Khomeini fascists would seize the embassy and hold its personnel hostage. As the New York Times of November 18 clearly pointed out:

> The decision was made despite the fact that Mr. Carter and his senior policy advisors had known for months that to admit the Shah might endanger Americans at the embassy in Teheran. An aide reported that at one staff meeting Mr. Carter had asked, "When the Iranians take our people in Teheran hostage, what will you advise me then?"

Using this provocation, which was conceived by Henry Kissinger and David Rockefeller, the bosses hoped to accomplish several things:

●Create the climate for military intervention in the Middle East, and

●Use this incident to whip up more jingoism and nationalism, to convince U.S. workers and others to line up for their plans of war in the Middle East and elsewhere. Ever since the Vietnam War, most of the population has been unwilling to support the plans of U.S. imperialism—and without a reliable army the U.S. bosses are powerless.

●Try to use this incident to shove their reluctant partners in Europe and Japan into supporting military action in the Middle East.

Ironically, France, West Germany and Japan depend on Iran for a large amount of their oil. None of these countries have any domestic oil, and they are very worried that a U.S. military action against Iran will close off the vital oil supplies. While the U.S. can tolerate limiting oil from Iran, the others cannot! Consequently, support for the U.S. position on hostages in Iran has been lukewarm from the "allies" of the U.S. After all, oil is oil, while a friend is only... So the U.S. hopes that the super-special UN session called on Iran will help them get more vigorous support from around the world. What will increase, maybe, are the words, but few deeds, if any, will come forth. **At this date, while the U.S. crows about how isolated Iran is, the essential fact is that the U.S. stands alone in the Iranian crisis.**

To date U.S. bosses' plans have generally failed. The New York Times (Nov. 25) bitterly complains about the reluctance of U.S. workers and others to line up for war: "Amitai Etzioni, the sociologist, said that 'nothing he experienced or studied' had prepared him for such a restrained reaction to the Iranian crisis from Americans. 'What amazes me about this is how few are the flag wavers and the calls

# *Iran Crisis: A Deeper Recession*

WASHINGTON—The Iranian crisis could further weaken the U.S. economy, already hurting from double-digit inflation and flagging consumer spending.

Senior economic policy makers and analysts here worry that recent events in the Mideast could deepen and prolong the recession that they expect at home and could produce new economic problems abroad.

The seizure of the U.S. embassy in Tehran three weeks ago has injected an "enormous amount of uncertainty" into the economic outlook, says a White House official. "The longer it goes on, the more likely we are to get a reduction in Iran's oil production and even higher world oil prices. It's one grim situation."

At the Treasury, a top analyst says the unrest and violence throughout the Mideast is "magnifying all the downside risks" in the economic outlook. "I don't see anything good coming out of it," he adds.

Although the Carter administration hasn't yet revised its official economic forecast, which still calls for slow economic growth in 1980, one planner quickly concedes that the new forecast due in January will be "more bearish" than the current one.

As they try to assess the economic consequences of the fluid situation in Iran, government analysts are focusing on the effect on oil prices and inflation, the effect on sales and output and the effect on the dollar and freeze Iranian assets and Tehran's announcement that it won't accept payment the international monetary system.

While it is too soon to draw final judgments, their preliminary thinking is that the crisis can't help but increase the price of oil and oil products faster than otherwise expected. U.S. officials had hoped that once the big price increases posted earlier this year by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries worked their way through the economy, there would be some easing in the rapid rise of energy prices.

But with future Iranian production so uncertain, oil prices in the spot market have been increasing, and next month's OPEC meeting is likely to produce a sharp increase in the official contract price of oil as well. In short, says a government expert, the Iranian crisis "raises the spectre of accelerating inflation" in the U.S. well into 1980.

Moreover, the crisis could have a depressant effect on automobile sales, which are currently weak, if it produces gasoline shortages and renewed fears about long-term availability of motor fuel. Declares one official: "What might make the recession bad is if the energy situation is critical and auto sales don't bounce back this time."

The international implications of the Iranian situation are even harder to assess than the domestic consequences. But the Iranian plan to withdraw its official reserves from U.S. banks, the U.S. decision to for oil in dollars all are worrisome and potentially disruptive—injecting the huge international monetary system into the increasingly bitter politics of the Mideast.

The dollar has been weakened by these developments but it hasn't been seriously hurt. Still, U.S. officials concede that the U.S. currency could come under heavy downward pressure if large dollar-holders should start diverting their assets because of fears that Washington might impose new freezes in panicky reaction to new violence in the Mideast.

In any event, the uncertainty about the dollar's future generated by recent developments could force the Federal Reserve System to keep monetary policy tight even when it would prefer to relax it for domestic economic reasons, analysts say. Such a development would intensify the recession's severity.

This generally distressing picture, policy planners believe, makes it imperative that the U.S. take even stronger steps to conserve energy and reduce dependence on foreign oil. As one senior official puts it: "The biggest single weapon we have for dealing with inflation and unemployment isn't monetary and fiscal policy but the effort to reduce the demand for oil."

It is against this backdrop that the Carter administration is seriously considering, as Treasury Secretary G. William Miller said Friday en route to the Mideast, the possibility of proposing higher gasoline taxes or mandatory rationing.

to send in the Marines.' Mr. Etzioni, a former Columbia Univ. professor, now working as an adviser to the Carter Administration concluded, 'This restrained unity is almost un-American. It's happened on no other occasion in American history, certainly not in any case I've experienced or studied.' "

**The facts bear this out. Virtually all of the pro-war demonstrations have been marked by their smallness, despite huge sums of money to whip up the population. Certainly there are large numbers of people concerned with the hostages. But few favor making war. And many want the Shah kicked out so that the hostages can be returned without bloodshed. Still others see through the clumsy U.S. provocation, realizing that this is just another version of "sinking the Maine," the U.S.-provoked incident which launched the Spanish-American War.**

To date, U.S. bosses' plans have generally failed.

Consequently, this is a time of tremendous openings for our party. Millions of workers are looking for leadership. They are not won to the ruling class policies of war and fascism. But in order to win workers and students to socialist revolution, the current crisis must be taken very seriously. While U.S. imperialism is weakened, this does not mean it is incapable of waging war. We must realize that this is not "just another event." The oil of the Middle East is at stake. U.S. rulers will not easily give it up. More importantly, **they cannot afford to give it up!**

War plans are being made. Calls for war in the Mid-East are rising from the so-called "more sober" sections of the ruling class. For instance, a **Business Week** article (Nov. 9) about the situation in the Mid-East said:

> . . . There is another scenario that many still think unthinkable: open warfare, if either the industrial West as a group, or the U.S. going it alone, gives up trying to work with OPEC and instead invades the oil fields. . .
>
> The U.S. may have to pay $100 billion for its oil by 1985 and $200 billion by 1995—a sum so incredibly high that it may be impossible . . . to ante it up unless a tremendous decline in the standard of living takes place. . .
>
> CONTROLLING CAPITAL. Again and again, as OPEC pushes the West toward the edge of economic survival, the option of a military response becomes more and more reasonable. . . OPEC prices actions are really getting out of hand. If they don't call for a military response, I wonder what would. . . I don't see much danger of crippling damage to the oil fields. Even if there were sabotage, it would have very temporary effects in the Arabian

*Demonstrators mass at Columbia University on Nov. 17 as PL and InCAR take the lead in building a new movement against the bosses' plans for imperialist war in the Middle East. The march went from Columbia into Harlem.*

peninsula, where you can strike oil with a hatpin. I don't think many other OPEC countries would dare to shut down for very long, if at all, in the face of a determined, united NATO military action.

Not only can the U.S. no longer restrain the OPEC bosses from raising their prices, but Soviet penetration of the area increases. The **New York Times** article by Richard Burt (Nov. 25) points out:

> According to these experts, the Administration has been forced to focus more acutely on the repercussions of the 11-month-old revolution in Iran: the upsurge in religious fundamentalism in Moslem nations; Moscow's opportunities to expand its influence in the Middle East and South Asia; risks of political instability in the Persian Gulf, Pakistan and Turkey and the doubts raised—particularly in Saudi Arabia—about American commitments.
>
> Saudi worries over the growing Soviet influence in Iran have been reinforced by Moscow's expanding presence in North and South Yemen, on the tip of the Arabian Peninsula. While maintaining close ties with the (new) Government in South Yemen, the Soviet Union reportedly has just completed a large arms deal with the Government of Mohammed Mottee'e in North Yemen. The deal, which includes Soviet MIG-21 aircraft, tanks and antiaircraft missiles, was said by a State Department aide to have caught Washington by surprise and to have deeply disturbed the Saudis. It was an effort to reassure the Saudis, as much as an attempt to put pressure on Iran, that led Mr. Carter last week to send a second aircraft carrier into the Arabian Sea and to hint that military force might be used.

Whether or not the U.S. intervenes in Iran now is not the primary question, as important as that may be. The objective reality is that U.S. imperialism is rapidly deploying more military forces in the Middle East now. However, we communists cannot take the position that "nothing will happen now." This would be an opportunist position for the vanguard of the working class. We must mobilize on the basis that it may. Ruling class forces in Iran and Washington are going on a war footing. **Can we do less?**

**The class war is raging every day in the U.S. and abroad. We can no longer be "occasional" communists. Our Party must go on a war footing and boldly take our line to the working class.**

By F.P.

# *Inside Iran*
# Class Struggle Against Khomeini

In the U.S. press, the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini is portrayed as simply a religious fanatic. In reality, he is a sharp bourgeois politician who is whipping up nationalism to consolidate his fascist movement inside Iran, just like KKKarter's Klan is doing in the U.S. Khomeini's drive toward a Jihad, or Moslem religious war, against U.S. imperialism is an effort to divert the class struggle in Iran—a struggle which had become so sharp that it threatened to topple Khomeini.

As was pointed out in Challenge on October 24, Khomeini has run into several major barriers to the consolidation of his fascist rule. By late October, there were many rumors that civil war was about to break out, some of them even naming the date for a military move. Let us review the main forces opposing Khomeini, or lukewarm to him:

●**Workers:** Because workers were key in kicking out the ex-Shah last winter, the Iranian bourgeoisie had to make many concessions to them. Now Khomeini is trying to take back those gains that the workers won. For instance, he more or less ordered the naming of a new oil minister in October; this minister's first action was to go to the oilfields to tell the workers that they would have to work six days instead of five, that their wages were to be cut 50%, back to the level under the Shah, that there would be no new housing built for them, etc. The workers beat the stuffing out of him. Also, many unemployed workers began demonstrating, with some slogans attacking Khomeini. With unemployment over 30%, many workers are forced to rely on the meager income from their families' land holdings of tiny plots of land in their home villages. Small farmers have been forcibly

*Khomeini's view of himself, in poster above, singlehandedly sending the Shah to hell, does not reflect reality. Millions of workers did the job, and must now rid themselves of Khomeini's new fascist regime.*

redistributing land in the villages, against Khomeini's explicit wishes. Many workers still have illusions about Khomeini himself, but it is quite common to hear criticism of those surrounding Khomeini—as if Khomeini hadn't appointed those people and didn't support them. Many of Khomeini's pronouncements, especially his attacks on worldly pleasures and on women's rights, are openly ignored by his so-called followers. Khomeini saw that fewer and fewer workers were supporting him, so he resorted to a nationalist orgy to revive some support.

●**The Left:** The Iranian left has come out in public for the first time since Khomeini openly ordered his "Islamic guards" to attack the "godless leftists" during the past summer. At that time only the pro-Soviet Tudeh party was operating openly. The main left group—the Fedayeen—organized a demonstration against U.S. imperialism last week in front of the occupied U.S. embassy with almost 100,000 people. The Fedayeen has been called "agents of U.S. imperialism" by Khomeini because it has long fought along with the Kurds against the Islamic guards. They call the takeover of the U.S. embassy a "diversion" from the real struggle. The Fedayeen call for a "real anti-imperialist" struggle based on alliance with "liberal bourgeois democrats," and refuse to call for the fight for socialism.

●**Minorities:** Of Iran's 35 million people, about half are non-Persian. The ten million Azerbejainis, a Turkish group who live in the northwest, were becoming alienated from Khomeini. Another ayatollah, Shariatmadari, was the big ruling class figure here, with considerable popular support around a liberal, lesser-evil platform. Shariatmadari had called for a boycott of the last elections, and he might well have backed anti-Khomeini forces in a civil war. The four million Kurds were actively fighting Khomeini, unfortunately mainly under the leadership of a pro-Soviet party and pro-Soviet mullahs (Moslem priests). The Kurds had pretty well driven out the central government's forces by late October, with arms supplied by the Soviets. Among the two million Arabs in the oil-producing southwest (Khuzestan province), there was great opposition to Khomeini's rabid chauvinist policies. Terrorist groups planted several bombs a day, mostly on oil pipelines.

The anti-Shah, anti-U.S. actions of the last few weeks have shored up Khomeini's popularity among the national minorities. In the event of a war, there would probably be little opposition to Khomeini, except maybe among the

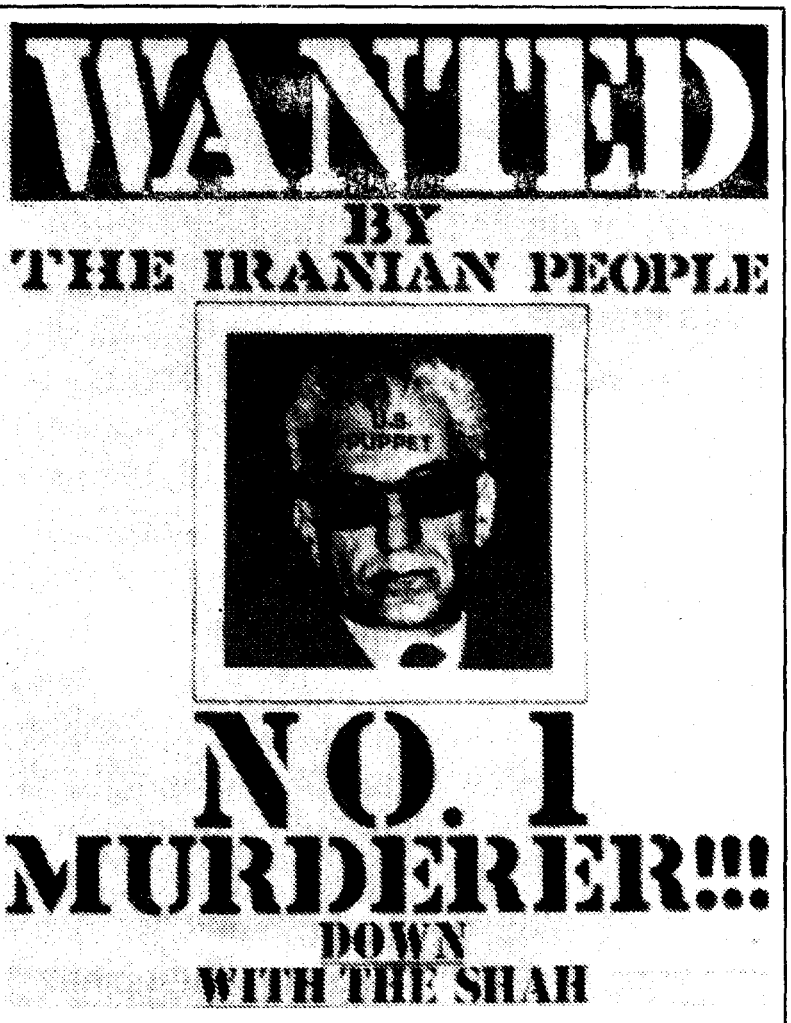
# Capturing Iran for American Bosses

**On Aug. 18, 1953, a disconsolate Shah Mohammed Riza Pahlevi and his wife were shopping on the Via Veneto in Rome. They had just fled Iran, where a nationalist Prime Minister, Mohammed Mossadegh, had ignored the Shah's order to resign and won nationalist acclaim for seizing the British-run oilfields.**

**Yet the next day, street crowds and soldiers, organized by Kermit Roosevelt of the Central Intelligence Agency, drove Prime Minister Mossadegh from power. While the old man fled in his pajamas, Mr. Roosevelt personally escorted his successor, Fazlollah Zahedi, from his hiding place to office.**

**A few days later, a grateful Shah, back in his palace, told Mr. Roosevelt over vodka and caviar, "I owe my throne to God, my people, my army—and to you."**

**This event marked the start of a peculiar 25-year relationship between the Shah and the United States that has reached a climax with a demand by the new Iranian regime to try the Shah for his alleged crimes. Officials at the United Nations have proposed that an international tribunal hear the charges although, as Walter Laqueur of the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies has suggested, it could be difficult finding judges who could come to court with clean hands.**




*Khomeini's plan—use Iranian workers' deep hatred of the Shah and his CIA sponsors to keep himself in power and defeat his opponents.*

Arabs. If the U.S. invaded the oilfields with tacit support from the Arab countries, there might be some U.S.-inspired agitation for an independent Arab state.

●**The army and the technocrats:** The army and the technocrats (the Western-educated engineers, lawyers, doctors, etc.) were strongly opposed to Khomeini for two main reasons: 1)Khomeini was undercutting their power by purging them and replacing them with people from the bazaar wing of the ruling class, and 2) Khomeini was moving away from the Western imperialist bloc. Some technocrats also wanted a move towards social democracy with bourgeois civil liberties, some reforms for workers, etc., instead of open fascism. This group was openly organizing for civil war. For example, Admiral Mahdani, head of the navy and governor of Khuzestan, was building a political movement around himself and there were rumors that he was going to launch a coup. Bakhtiar, the last prime minister under the Shah, was active abroad: 2500 people came to a pro-Bakhtiar, death-to-Khomeini demonstration in London in October. This group has laid low since the takeover of the embassy; they are afraid to oppose Khomeini now for fear of being labelled pro-U.S.-imperialism. By the way, a large number of the so-called "leftists" had more or less joined this group: these leftists were calling for more "democratic" rights like free speech, meaning in reality more rights for the rich, with no word about workers' rights. The resignation of the Bazargan government, after the takeover of the U.S. embassy, eliminated all non-religious power in Iran. Power now rested mainly in the hands of the mullahs.

●**Foreign powers:** Khomeini had aroused the ire of the ruling classes in the Arab countries by his chauvinistic statements. Some of his closest followers claimed that Bahrein and other countries of the Persian Gulf were really part of Iran, and Khomeini's representative in Kuwait was thrown out for fomenting a pro-Khomeini revolution. There is a long history of nationalist tension between Iran and the Arab countries. The previous Shah made no secret of his desire to dominate the Persian Gulf. Hatred of Khomeini was sufficiently

strong to bring together the quite pro-Soviet Iraqi ruling class and the very pro-U.S. Saudi rulers in a pact whose pretty explicit purpose was to support Khomeini's overthrow. The Iraqis have been providing arms to the Arabs in Khuzestan. Now, with the takeover of the embassy in Tehran and with the bizarre mosque takeover in Mecca, which is generally blamed on the U.S. and Israel, there is much support for Khomeini in Arab countries. U.S. military action against Iran would probably kick up a storm of protest in Arab and other Islamic countries, although the main wing of the ruling class in Iraq, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states would tacitly support U.S. intervention if it got rid of Khomeini.

As for the imperialist countries, there was considerable dissatisfaction with Khomeini. The Soviet imperialists, who had hoped Khomeini would turn in their direction, had begun attacking him in the fall and gave weapons to the Kurds—all of which has stopped since the embassy takeover. Khomeini used to attack the Soviets and the U.S. in the same breath: now he focuses on the U.S. alone. So the Soviets are sitting on the sidelines, hoping for a bungled U.S. intervention that will push Khomeini into their camp.

Meanwhile, after months of hoping for an alliance with Khomeini on the basis of anti-communism, the Western imperialists pretty well gave up on him by late summer. As usual, the European capitalists were more alert than the U.S.—the French, British and German rulers had dropped the Shah earlier than the U.S., and now they dropped Khomeini first. Eric Rouleau, a respected editor of the main French newspaper, **Le Monde**, wrote an only-slightly-veiled call for Western intervention to restore Bakhtiar, who was welcomed in England and France.

**In short, Iran was headed towards civil war by late October, and Khomeini's fascist rule was in serious trouble. Being a sharp politician, Khomeini took the one action designed to neutralize many of his enemies—he sharply attacked the U.S. for harboring the Shah. The Shah and U.S. imperialism are nearly universally detested in Iran. If Khomeini can portray himself as the bitterest enemy of the Shah and the U.S. government, he can win much support. The embassy takeover was only the occasion for implementing this strategy. Khomeini has made other steps in the same direction, such as purging pro-U.S. forces such as the ex-prime-minister Bazargan, and the U.S.-citizen foreign minister, Yadi. He also toned down criticism of the USSR, and he allowed the revisionist forces to reappear legally, newspapers and all. These revisionist groups will probably all end up backing Khomeini and the USSR. To back down in his confrontation with the U.S. ruling class would be suicide for Khomeini. Khomeini knows that the best way to preserve his rule is through war with the U.S. and that is where he is headed.**

*Hundreds demonstrated with PL and InCAR in Washington on Dec. 1. For more pictures, see centerfold, pages 36-37.*

Khomeini's policies will mean death for thousands of Iranian workers. He has turned the just hatred for the Shah and for U.S. imperialism into a force to support his fascist rule—a rule which outlaws strikes, which cuts wages, which protects profits, which degrades women. The only path forward for the Iranian working class is to overthrow Khomeini and all capitalists in Iran and install a workers' government through socialist revolution. We must sharply attack the rotten theory that the revolution in Iran will go through an anti-imperialist stage, represented by Khomeini, before it gets to the anti-capitalist stage. Khomeini is opposed to U.S. imperialism only because he wants to keep for himself more of what is stolen from the Iranian working class. Especially now, when there are many illusions about Khomeini, we must attack him sharply. Communists provide leadership to the working class by exposing charlatans such as Khomeini or Kennedy who claim to speak for the workers' interest. Our task is to organize revolution, not to tail after some "lesser-evil" boss.

By D.Q.

## *Reformers and Union Hacks*

# Liberals Pave the Way for Fascism

There is a fascist movement stalking this land, a movement that is not restricted to white hoods and sheets and swastikas, nor to names like Duke, Wilkinson and Collins. It is a movement headed by names far more familiar to most Americans, names which many workers connect with "progress," "social reform" and with the leadership of the day-to-day struggles of their unions.

Years ago, the Louisiana demagogue Huey Long declared that fascism would come to the U.S. in the name of "saving democracy." Today's fascist movement, true to that form, is most likely to be jammed down our throats as the "answer to the ultra-right." Its leaders, with the name Kennedy emblazoned on their banners, paint themselves as the leaders and allies of the working class, as the fighters for the rights of the common people and as our saviors from the forces of reaction. As this article will show, they are in fact the fifth column of fascism, the agents of our oppressors. From their positions at the head of our unions, and from movements they have created or control, they spread the deadly ideas of docility, racism, patriotism and anti-communism, as their masters move toward the imposition of fascism. These "leaders," the Frasers, Wurfs, Winpisingers, Davises, Fondas and Haydens, are what we call social fascists, and this article will examine their origin, their role and our struggle to defeat them and their masters.

William Winpisinger, president of the Machinists union

(IAM) was recently asked by the **Village Voice** about Teddy Kennedy as a presidential candidate. He answered:

> We're already running him... He's the only guy... who has his head out of the sand at all, who has the leadership to straighten this mess out... He's the only Democrat around that has the kind of leadership qualities, charisma, to get the confidence of the American people to try something new. **(Village Voice, 3/26/79)**

The Winpisinger interview quoted above was contained in an article entitled, "Is There Hope for the 80's? The Race to Beat the Right." It starts from the premise that the "frustrations and defeats of American labor over the last decade" have put "labor" on the defensive: "time is running out; if labor is to go on the offensive, it must do so now."

Among the many neat tricks here is the one that equates "American labor" with the likes of Fraser, Winpisinger, Wurf and Co., putting the rank and file, the working class, and these lieutenants of the capitalist class under the same umbrella labelled "American labor." As it recounts the "frustrations" of these labor misleaders with the Carter Administration (which they themselves had moved might and main to elect), it conveniently neglects to point out that the last time the U.S. working class was on the offensive **communists were at its helm.** And that is precisely the reason for the current direction of these labor fakers. Today the U.S. ruling class—the Rockefeller-led big bosses who own and run this country—need to prepare for war with their imperialist arch-rivals, the Soviet bosses, to save their declining system. They and their labor lieutenants are worried that the working class will not accept this fate, and especially that they will not meekly accept fascism, which is the essential ingredient of this preparation. They know that millions of workers could rebel and opt for communist leadership as the best representation of their class interests. That possibility has both the U.S. bosses and their junior partners who run the unions scared out of their minds.

**Yes, "time is running out" for these labor "leaders." They, and the masters they serve, realize that saving U.S. capitalism means taking the bosses' defeats out on the backs of the working class, cutting wages and conditions in half, among other things. If one is committed to saving capitalism, by definition one is committed to intensifying the oppression of the working class. They realize that if they don't organize to trap the workers in a web of "Kennedy-(or some other boss)-is-our-leader," the workers could burst the "lesser-evil" chains that bind them once and for all.**

If the labor fakers can't deliver the workers into the arms of the bosses, they lose the reason for their existence, as far as the bosses are concerned. And if they're not prepared to fight the bosses all the way—which they never have been nor ever conceived of doing—they're headed for oblivion. So, for them, keeping the workers locked into capitalism is the only way of saving their own necks. Most assuredly, "time is running out" for them.

Who are these leaders? What are they organizing for? What is the movement they represent?

*The social fascists in the trade unions and reformist groups are the bosses' key weapon in winning workers to back war and fascism. Communist ideas and communist leadership are the working class' key weapon in stopping them.*

**HOW TO "FINE-TUNE" CAPITALISM**

William Winpisinger, boss of the million-member IAM, is now being billed as a "maverick on the left end of the trade union spectrum." This is the same "left-wing maverick" who recently sold out the large aerospace membership of the IAM; who runs a union that keeps black, Latin and other workers of color in the lowest-paying unskilled jobs; who is intent on expelling any known communists from the IAM, as he did with a PLP member who was elected shop steward several years ago, a case Winpisinger pursued right to the Supreme Court in defending the IAM's anti-communist clause; and whose "differences" with the right-wing head of the AFL-CIO, George Meany, do not interfere with having "an enormous respect for him, because he did not get where he is or stay where he is without having plenty on the ball." (This is the same Meany who is proud of the fact that he's never been on strike in his whole life!) If this is a "left-wing maverick," what must the right-wingers be like?

But building up Winpisinger's "left-wing" image falls flat on its philosophical face when he is asked, by the **Voice,** "Are you a socialist?" Says this "maverick" sellout artist, "I'm not a textbook socialist. I don't truly believe some of the tenets of Marx or any of that shit. I have never been afraid of... the kind of socialism it takes to make capitalism work... I've sometimes said you've got to fine-tune capitalism with a dose of socialism." Hitler, too, used a similar "dose"—"Nazi" was short for "National Socialist."

In organizing a mass movement to save a capitalist system diametrically "out of tune" with the interests of the working class, Winpisinger has set up the Citizen Labor Energy Coalition. The CLEC is made up of "unions and citizen groups" and has six regional and 27 state offices, financed by Winpisinger's control of the IAM treasury. It is allied with groups like Massachusetts Fair Share, Ohio Public Interest Campaign, Illinois Public Action Council and others. Its executive director is Heather Booth, who, with her husband Paul, was one of the leaders of the right-wing in the SDS (Students for a Democratic Society). (Incidentally Paul Booth is now a full-time functionary for AFSCME in Illinois, and not too long ago led a vitriolic attack against

# *Winpisinger: Fascist Star*

William Winpisinger of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) is a rising star in a fascist sky. His leadership of the IAM and within the broader ranks of the U.S. labor movement has deadly implications for the working class.

Across the country TWA is laying off 2500 workers, many of them IAM members These layoffs have exposed IAM leaders. Not only does the union leadership fail to attack TWA—they see their role as aiding the company in fighting for regulation of fuel costs and proposed fare increases. There hasn't been one word from the union hall about fighting layoffs with strikes, shorter work week committees, slowdowns, overtime bans etc.

In Kansas City, where 5500 IAM members work for TWA, the local president was saying TWA was not to blame for the layoffs. The local's news letter calls for workers to support a fare increase for TWA and adds "if the agency does not grant the increase, **our local will seek assistance from our Federal legislators in Washington. Five years is a long time to wait for a fare increase.**" (our emphasis) Five years is a long time to wait for a raise, or a new job, too.

Some people may think IAM officials and their like can't organize a fightback. Nothing could be further from the truth. These fakers do it to death for the bosses and their "progressive" front groups. They've also shown their true colors in forging anti-communist attacks against InCAR and PLP. When we ran a candidate for grievance committee in Kansas City's Local 1650, the hacks organized a record-breaking turnout at the election to rally around an anti-communist appeal.

Now Winpisinger and Co. are staking out the leadership of the Draft Kennedy movement in the trade unions. More than a page of the August '79 issue of **The Machinist,** with 3 million readers, was devoted to news of "Wimpy's" involvement.

Winpisinger points out that Carter's domestic policies are having a catastrophic effect, and that the government seems immobilized. And, he tries to draw rank-and-filers in by listing the mounting problems of gas lines, inflation, unemployment, health care costs, etc. He labels Kennedy the "leader who can supply action and answers."

In the union halls, local officers brag on Wimpy's "progressive" policies. They run a line that generally boils down to: 1) The Republicans have never befriended working people; 2) Now you can hardly tell the Democrats from the Republicans; 3) If the Democrats don't shape up soon we'll have to form our own party. While some rank-and-filers may not immediately fill in the blanks, the message is clear—a labor party is in the making, and Wimpy himself would be glad to lead the mandate for "progressive" leadership.

Clearly the need has never been greater to build InCAR caucauses within the IAM and to recruit rank-and-file members into PLP. The IAM has no history of communist leadership. From its beginnings it has been a right-wing haven. No second thoughts are given to using large local unions as recruiting grounds for a Democratic-Labor-Fascist party. Communists and their anti-racist allies within the IAM must sharpen the fight and expose these traitors while putting forward to the rank-and-file the truth that the only viable solution to Winpisinger-Carter-Kennedy et al is Socialist Revolution.

PLP when we attempted to expose that union's racism in a local struggle in Chicago.)

Winpisinger is also a vice-president of Michael Harrington's anti-communist "Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee," which has hired IAM'er Marjorie Fife as a national coordinator.

Winpisinger is trying to organize the anger of workers over the energy crisis into a national campaign to elect Ted Kennedy president. That's who, while "not a panacea," is the only one who can "straighten out this mess." This is the same Winpisinger who led workers right into Carter's arms. "If you listened to his campaign promises and took a look at the Democratic Party platform, there was no reason not to be for him." But, surprise, surprise, Carter has "subverted" all these "good things." Once one ruling class figure has exposed himself, these labor "leaders" look around for some other "lesser evil" slop to foist

on us.

**FRASER: UNITING THE PHONIES**

Douglas Fraser is president of the United Auto Workers, whose members are perhaps the most vital group of workers needed by U.S. bosses to carry out any kind of war to save their declining system. The auto plants are the hub of capitalism's arsenal, which the bosses look to for the tanks, trucks, troop carriers, military aircraft, etc.,—the sinews of modern warfare. If the bosses cannot command the allegiance of these workers, their ability to save their system would be torn to shreds, especially because of the ripple effect auto workers have on the rest of the working class. (It was the militance and organization of the communist-led auto workers in the 1930's that led to the unionization of 5,000,000 industrial workers into the CIO in four short years.)

The ruling class's chances of commanding that allegiance rest squarely on Fraser and Co. their junior partners who run the UAW. Fraser himself is no slouch when it comes to defending the bosses and their system. When he was head of the Chrysler division of the UAW, Fraser also doubled as a Detroit police commissioner, leading a force of racist cops whose main task is to keep the city's auto workers in check, especially the more militant black workers. It was the "progressive" Fraser who helped lead a gang of 1,000 goons, many of them KKK members, to break a rank-and-file sitdown rebellion, led by members of PLP and the Workers Action Movement, at Chrysler's Mack Avenue plant in 1973.

Since Fraser became president of the UAW, succeeding Leonard "Roadblock" Woodcock (now U.S. ambassador to capitalist-revisionist China), he has gone further down the road of depressing the living standards of U.S. workers as the main way of helping the bosses make the working class take the losses of a tottering system. When Volkswagen set up shop in Pennsylvania, Fraser jammed through a contract that paid auto workers there more than a dollar an hour less than in Big 3 plants, to help VW "get off the ground," even though VW's worldwide profit picture has never been better. This laid the basis for his latest attack on auto workers, offering to help out

## *UAW's Fraser: 'Neutral for Kennedy'*

——DETROIT, Sept. 26—The United Automobile Workers . . . is now "neutral for Kennedy," Douglas A. Fraser, the union's president, said today.

Mr. Fraser said in an interview that U.A.W. regional directors in Chicago and Hartford were seeking support for Senator Edward M. Kennedy in their jurisdictions and that retired union members in Florida were busy trying to elect delegates supporting the Massachusetts Democrat to a state party convention.

Mr. Fraser said that the international executive board of the union, whose early backing of Jimmy Carter in Florida in 1975 and 1976 was a key element in his successful race for President, voted last week to free its officers to support any Presidential candidate, but did so knowing that the leadership and membership were "overwhelmingly for Kennedy."

At the moment, he said, officers of the 1.5-million-member union are acting only in their personal capacities, not officially, but he conceded with a smile, "That's hard to separate sometimes." After the board action last week, Robert Johnston, the union's regional director for Illinois and Iowa, sent a telegram to all locals in his 175,000 member jurisdiction urging them to back Mr. Kennedy.

Mr. Fraser said he had not discussed the auto union move with Mr. Kennedy.

He said that he expected many union leaders to hold back on endorsements but guessed that of the six regional U.A.W. directors in Michigan Mr. Carter could hope for the support of only one.

While he said that he was not endorsing Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Fraser asserted that promoting the Senator in the shops would be "a joy, a cakewalk."

He cited Mr. Carter's failure to send to Capitol Hill a "comprehensive, universal" national health insurance plan, and he said that Mr. Kennedy could offer "the ability to lead, the ability to get people to do what they'd rather not do." —*New York Times. 9/27/79*

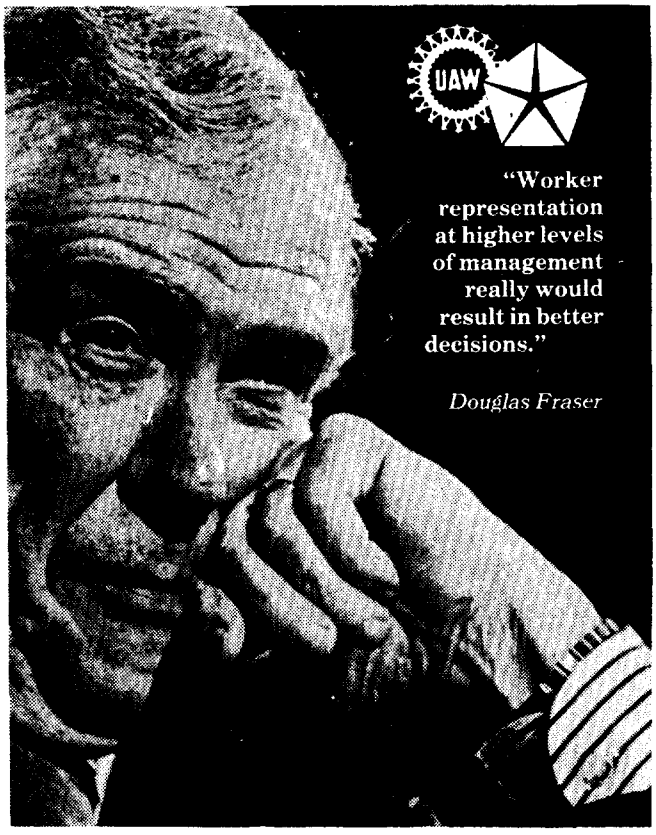
the ailing Chrysler through a no-strike pledge, a loan from Chrysler workers' pension funds and a lowering of demands in the current contract negotiations. Couple all this with the Fraser-sponsored visit of UAW flunkies to Japan, where they offered Japanese auto companies concessions to set up shop in the U.S., and we see that Fraser is truly becoming a master at hitching the workers to the bosses' profit system.

With a record like that in auto, Fraser's role as organizer of a "Progressive Alliance" to lead the "disenfranchised" against the "ultra right" would have to be pretty suspect. (Interestingly, he has done absolutely nothing to oust KKK members from positions of control **within** the UAW—such as in the Cadillac Local 22—much less oppose the Klan or the Nazis in their current drive to establish a base among workers.)

Realizing that workers generally are fed up with the anti-working class policies of the Carter Administration and fearing that they may very well seek out left-wing leadership in rebelling against these attacks, Fraser has tried to bring together honest and phony forces into an organization that would "influence" the Democratic Party and "keep the workers within the system." For this purpose he and his cohorts in the UAW called a conference in Oct. 1978 of 200 organizations—from the hacks who run many of the unions, including George Meany's plumbers union, to the NAACP, the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Organization of Women (NOW), Harrington's anti-communist DSOC, as well as the whole gamut of phony "left" front groups.

Fraser says that, "The right-wing, conservatives and corporate business are out-hustling us." The "solution" is to "reintroduce accountability and discipline into the Democratic Party" and end Senate filibusters! Fraser worries that capitalist parties are "not responding" to the needs of the people. Damn right! That's the nature of any system based on private profit, exploitation of workers and control of state power—the government—to enforce that exploitation.

Does Fraser have an opinion on how to deal with that power? Sure enough. A "pluralistic system" in which "you have 'competing' forces. The government can discipline private industry and private industry can discipline the government." (Interview in **The Village Voice**, 3/26/79) This would include "nationalization" of such industries as energy and would, in effect, bail out capitalism at the workers' expense. Opposing classes can't "share power"; either the bosses control state power or the workers do—but more on that point later.




*Fraser tells the truth: His concern is for "better decisions" and better profits, not better wages and conditions for auto workers.*

**This "pluralistic" rot in which bosses would "give up" some of their control to some mystical "neutral" government is the "socialism" that Fraser says he would "be comfortable with." Mussolini thought of this corporate-labor "partnership" long before Fraser. He called his version the corporate state—fascism. And all these defenders of capitalism—from Hitler, to Il Duce, and now to Winpisinger and Fraser—know they have to put a dash of "socialism" into the pot to try to suck workers into a system that turns out to be fascism. It is not that big a step from crushing rebelling workers at Mack Avenue to chaining all workers to the capitalist drive to fascism and war.**

Once the October conference didn't produce anything, Fraser called together a dozen labor "leaders" to a Washington dinner last March to "put up or shut up." Fraser started by putting up $50,000 of the auto workers' dues money. Then the

rest of this motley crew "chipped in" another $200,000 of their members' dough. (In the true tradition of sellout artists, this "progressive, democratic alliance" never consulted the membership on the use of their money.)

With this quarter-million behind them, the Alliance began seeking a director; "At the top of the list is Richard Warden, assistant secretary of Carter's Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare" and the then Secretary Joseph Califano's "major political operator." They appear to be reassembling the coalition that helped elect Rockefeller's man in 1976—Jimmy Carter—but this time to back Carter's possible replacement, Ted Kennedy. Thus, the central goal of this Alliance is to win workers disgusted with Carter and the whole political set-up to support a new liberal "lesser evil" who may very well become the "savior" of U.S. capitalism through fascism, "American democracy-style."

**I played with guns, but the other side played with helicopters. —Tom Hayden**

In trying to sucker the working class into saving capitalism with fascism during this era of decline of U.S. imperialism, the labor fakers are working with, financing, and trying to control various reform movements that they are either creating or supporting. One of the largest ones is the "Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition," financed mainly by the IAM's Winpisinger. It includes on its executive board Fraser, Wm. Hutton (Secy.-Treas. of the National Council of Senior Citizens), John Ryor of the National Education Association, and participants like the Americans for Democratic Action, the Steelworkers union, The Hayden-Fonda road show, the United Presbyterian Church and even the National Football League Players Association.

Its latest kick is the sky-rocketing price of gasoline and home heating oil, blaming Carter's energy policy and the oil companies as the villains. No doubt they, as representatives of the capitalist system **are** responsible for exploiting the working class: but a Kennedy Administration would hardly be one to attack that system. CLEC's "program of action" included a "national day of protest" on Oct. 17 with rallies, energy pray-ins in churches, "massive call-ins to Congress and the White House" and red, white and blue postcards to "flood Washington with the call for lower prices."

### THE TOM AND JANE ROAD SHOW

One of the bigger reform movements bent on diverting U.S. workers and others from seeing capitalism (and its drive towards fascism) as the cause of our problems is the road show led by millionaire Jane Fonda and her husband Tom Hayden. Their base organization is the Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED) in California. Their main national activity is the current anti-nuclear power movement, using rock stars to attract thousands of young people, while they push California Gov. Jerry Brown, one of the better friends the oil companies ever had. (The oil bosses are in love with the idea of limiting nuclear power—which they have found too expensive to generate—in favor of oil, or coal, which they now own).

Hayden is billed as a former revolutionary from the 1960s, when actually he led the right wing of the anti-war movement, symbolized by the tears he shed after the assassination of his hero, Robert Kennedy. "I played with guns, but the other side played with helicopters," Hayden told **The Village Voice** (Oct. 1). Now this "revolutionary" playboy is using whatever credentials the ruling class has managed to manufacture for him to focus on "electoral politics as a path to structural reform."

Working as a "grass roots" organization, but dominated by Hayden and Fonda, the CED is largely financed by Fonda's millions and such outfits as Jane Fonda's Workout (a Beverly Hills health spa with possible upcoming investments in restaurants and other businesses). Of course, Fonda's movie income is a huge source of dough. These movies are financed by the big banks. And there is no question that if these bankers

felt Fonda and her movement were not useful to the ruling class, they would do a real job on her. When the ruling class is really opposed to a performer's politics, they attack them unmercifully and deny them a living in this country, as they did to Paul Robeson in the 1940s and 1950s.

Hayden's ties to Jerry Brown reflect a personal relationship on the basis of which the "CED prospers politically." (**Village Voice**, Oct. 1.) Brown appointed Hayden to the state SolarCal Council, to a "special counsel" role in his administration and to the Southwest Border Regional Commission. Through the latter Hayden has made "valuable contacts with Mexican officials and... ties to the United Farmworkers, whose leader, Cesar Chavez, helped found CED." Brown's Administration, the Border Commission, the "Mexican officials," and Chavez have all been instrumental in grinding down thousands of undocumented workers who toil in the fields and are shunted back and forth across the border at the will of the government, meanwhile being blamed for the problems of native-born unemployed workers

This is the "movement" that tells the working-class that it is "organizing against corporate power." "Anti-ruling class" forces don't get promoted on national TV shows like **Meet the Press, Good Morning America,** and the **Today Show,** as happened with Hayden-Fonda in the space of a couple of days in September. With "anti-corporate" friends like that, we don't need enemies.

The Hayden-Fonda axis is not only allied with the labor fakers through Chavez, but is also participating in the Oct. 17 extravaganza organized by the Winpisinger-Fraser CLEC. Hayden hopes to use CED as the springboard to the U.S. Senate in the 1982 elections.

In addition to the CED, other reform groups that have sprung up around the country include:

- **Massachusetts Fair Share**—main activities around auto insurance rates and publicizing tax delinquents; mostly white, conservative, trying to replace the Democratic machine; shuns the anti-racist struggle: "If Fair Share gets involved in race, it's going to lose a lot of support," says one of its leaders. Such issues "are not going to reach the working class."
- **Ohio Public Interest Campaign**—works to "stem corporate flight" from the North; works closely with the UAW; wants corporations to stay in Ohio so that benefits will "trickle down" to the workers.
- **Illinois Public Action Council—aims** at "moderate-to-low income" people, utility reform, health care, legal aid; "works with" the IAM and Steelworkers, meaning it works with their leadership, not their membership.
- **Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN),** across 16 states from Louisiana to South Dakota and Pennsylvania to Nevada—develops an "anti-corporate" image; but, "We're not trying to take over," says its Board President, an IBM employee in Little Rock, Ark. "The establishment has a right, too. We want to have our fair share. We need competition." Involved in electoral politics.

All of these groups have come together in the coalition known as the Citizen Labor Energy Coalition headed and financed by the IAM'S Winpisinger. While liberal reform mouthpieces, such as **The Village Voice,** describe these movements as the "answer" to the "Democratic President" and the "Democratic Congress" who have inflicted "one savage defeat after another" on the working class (budget cuts, escalating prices on oil and gas, etc.), what is their real purpose? Can capitalism and the destruction it wreaks on the working class be answered by working within the system itself? We will take up these questions shortly.

## DSOC: "SOCIALISM" WITHOUT WORKERS

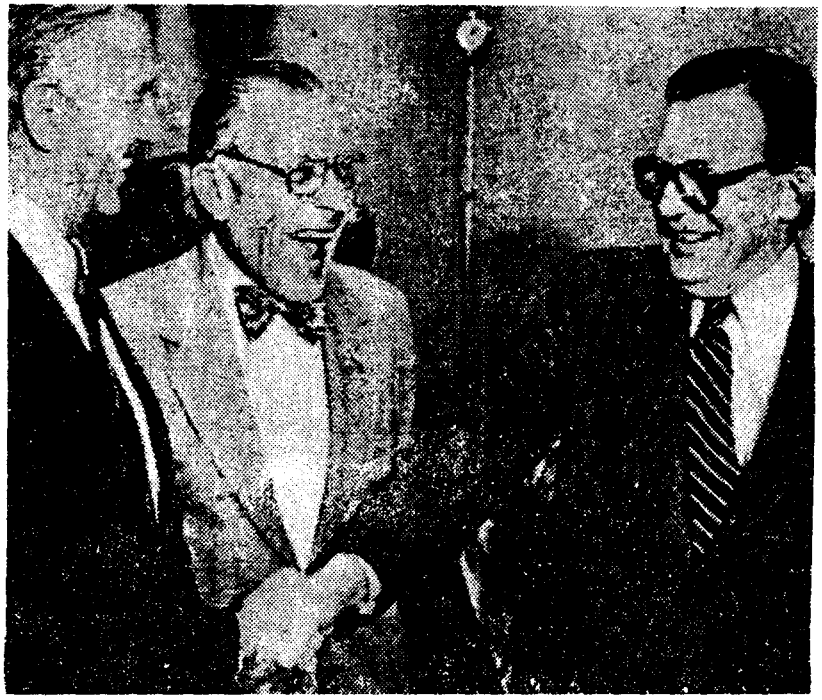
In an attempt to gain whatever advantage they can from working-class sympathies for socialism, the social-fascist labor fakers also make a stab at clothing themselves in "socialist" costumes. In line with this, some of their "leading lights" have joined, or joined with, the latest anti-communist "socialist" party, the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee. This outfit supposedly provides an avenue for "closet socialists (who) are ready to come out within the labor movement." (**Business Week,** Sept. 24) They include many of the same characters we have been writing about—Winpisinger, Fraser, Wurf, Gotbaum, as well as the UAW's GM division boss, Irving Bluestone (who just signed the latest sellout contract with GM) and

# AFL-CIO, Carter: Partners in Crime

Just how the social fascist labor "leaders" play their junior partner role in the ruling class' drive to depress living standards to Hitlerian levels was evident in the AFL-CIO's agreement to become part of the Carter wage-freeze process. According to the **New York Times** (Sept. 27), "labor" has been given a highly visible advisory role in reviewing and applying the Government's voluntary standard for pay restraint." Chief fink George Meany was set to put it before a special meeting of the AFL-CIO executive council which "was expected to approve the arrangement."

The deal to get the union fakers' stamp of approval on the "voluntary" wage freeze was put together at a "working breakfast" between Meany's right-hand flunky AFL-CIO Secy.-Treas. Lane Kirkland, and Carter's Treasury Chief, Wm. Miller, along with Secy. of Labor Ray Marshall.

None of this, of course, was done with any "advisory role" of the rank and file. The whole move smacks of Mussolini's fascist "corporate state," where labor-management "councils" were established to set wages. Carter's body, too, is a "labor - management - public" group. The working class' answer to this class collaboration can only be a general strike to bust the wage freeze, and dump the Meany-Kirkland cabal in the river—or under it—to pay for their crimes.



*SEALING THE DEAL: New AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland shakes hands with the head of the National Association of Manufacturers, pledging to continue George Meany's policies of racism and sellout.*

leaders of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers union. All of these sellouts are either members of, or on the Board of Directors of, the DSOC. The AFL-CIO Building Trades Dep't recently took an ad in DSOC's paper "congratulating" it for "supporting the labor movement." In addition, DSOC works closely with Fraser's Progressive Alliance.

DSOC is headed by self-styled "socialist" Michael Harrington who "helped Sargent Shriver shape the Johnson Administration's war on poverty." (**Washington Post**, March 25, 1979) It counts among its leaders Congressman Ron Dellums (D-Calif.), CIA operative Gloria Steinem, Nixon cabinet member James Farmer, Yale theologian Harvey Cox, Victor Reuther, Nat Hentoff, and Irving Howe, anti-communist par excellence.

It's no surprise, therefore, to read in DSOC's recruiting brochure that "We work in the left-wing of the Democratic Party," where they are "forging coalition." Further, they "played a big part at the recent Democratic Party Convention in Memphis." They have also organized the "Democratic Agenda," which includes Fraser and Wurf, Dellums, Wisconsin Democratic Party state chairman Michael Bleicher, Rep. Robert Kastenmeier (D.-Wisc.), Rep. John Conyers (D.-Mich.), and so on. This group allegedly wants to "hold Carter and the Democratic Congress accountable" for the Democratic Party platform (as if that platform is somehow utopia for the working class).

Naturally this "socialist" group "maintains informal ties with...Sen. Edward Kennedy." (**Washington Post**, 3/25/79) In fact, Kennedy spokesman Tom Southwick says his boss "knows Mike Harrington and sees him from time to time to discuss politics in a very general way." Funny how this whole motley crew, from the Winpisinger-Fraser axis to the professional anti-communists in DSOC all come together around the new ruling class "savior," Ted Kennedy.

But, as the **Post** reports, the heart of DSOC's philosophy is "a gradualist gospel which...isn't that far away from today's liberal establishment agenda." And it's become clearer every day that that "agenda" includes preparing for war with the Soviet bosses and tightening the screws on the working class here—fascism.

Harrington yearns for "more democratic and social control of business investment"; "forcing corporations to 'share' decision-making" (**Business Week**, Sept. 24); and profit-sharing so that workers can be induced to "look out" for the boss who employs (and exploits) them. That's "socialism," DSOC-style. All this makes a lovely cover for the traitors in the unions who support DSOC, so they can stay in power and ride roughshod over the working class.

Fortunately, workers are shunning DSOC in huge numbers. They see through a lot of this garbage. "Conspicuous in DSOC's membership are the small numbers of rank-and-file trade unionists, blacks and other minorities...(Its) voices chiefly (are) those of the university and the research center, the social worker, the poverty lawyer and the labor economist." (**Washington Post**)

**The elitist attitude and anti-working class approach of DSOC is revealed in their belief that "there are fundamental and almost contradictory problems in attracting to the complex dialectic of socialism the minimally educated and at times anti-intellectual class of Americans for whom it is intended." What nonsense! It is the working class which three times has put real socialism into practice—in the 1871 Paris Commune, the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the Chinese Revolution of 1949. That these historic working-class achievements were later reversed or usurped in no way lessens the fact that it is the working class that not only understands the world communist outlook of dialectical materialism but knows exactly how to put it into practice. And that's precisely what the Frasers, Winpisingers, Wurfs, Harringtons and the like are afraid of, since their goal is to "save" capitalism, not destroy it.**

As we have pointed out, the leadership of these unions are an oppressive force over the rank and file. These leeches not only function within the system, but serve to defend it and help "save" it. "Saving capitalism" means taking the bosses' problems out on the workers. And for U.S. capitalism in the 1980s, it means a healthy dose of fascism. For instance, what happens when the anarchy of capitalism catches up with a billion-dollar outfit like Chrysler? First, Chrysler lays off thousands of workers, the majority black, to attempt to immediately cut its losses. They speed up the remainder. And then they ask for "special consideration" from the UAW come contract time—a cut in wages and fringe benefits; all in the name of "preserving jobs for Chrysler workers."

What is Fraser and Company's answer? "Well, it's true, Chrysler is in danger of going under." and "it's also true if they go under, thousands of UAW members will lose their jobs." Therefore, "we have to help Chrysler get out of trouble" so "some of our members will keep working."

The fact is, the bosses were in deep trouble in the 1930s when the bottom was dropping out of their system. If workers had not fought like hell **for their own class interests,** there would be no UAW today. If the rank-and-file, led by communists, had not risen up and organized, fighting the company goons and gunmen, the National Guard and the daily police violence directed against unionization of the basic industries, we would be one big open shop today. So waiting for, and helping, the bosses to "get out of trouble" will only put the workers in a worse situation.

In a certain sense, U.S. bosses are in worse trouble today than they were in the 1930s. At that time, although in the midst of a great depression, the long-range outlook for U.S. capitalism was still upward. Their strength relative to the rest of the capitalist world was still greater. They emerged from that depression through World War II and still another re-division of the world's markets relatively unscathed compared to the destruction wrought by that war in Eur-

ope, Africa and Asia, and entered their most dominant era.

Given these circumstances, "helping" a Chrysler ("accommodating" the coming auto contract to Chrysler's troubles, as Fraser has promised); demanding the government grant TWA fare increases to help pay its fuel bill, as the IAM's Winpisinger calls for (see box on p. 13); bailing New York's bosses out of their fiscal crisis, as AFSCME's Gotbaum has done and is doing (see box on p. 21) —all this betrayal of workers' class interests is "saving capitalism" by moving in a fascist direction. Had the working class been led by such forces in the 1930s, we might very well have had some form of fascism then. In fact, that was the direction Roosevelt was headed in 1933-34. It was the might of the communist-led working class that turned it around.

**But today the U.S. bosses do not have the options they had fifty years ago.**

However, today the long-range outlook of U.S. bosses is **downward.** For all of the reasons cited by numerous articles in this magazine (and in their own press), U.S. capitalism is no longer "Number One," and is sinking. Soviet capitalism is the rising star; West German capitalism has greater productivity; Japanese capitalism sells millions of cars and other durable goods in the U.S. market. Mid-East bosses have tacked on a $100 billion "surcharge" to U.S. capitalism by jacking up the price of oil 700% (from $3 a barrel to $21, and rising). And all this without one U.S. Marine being able to land on foreign shores and "set things straight."

So, when a giant like Chrysler gets "sick" or a TWA can't pay its 1979 fuel bill and seeks to recoup by laying off workers, declining capitalism's ability to grant concessions to the working class is nil. To accumulate capital for new investment, it must get that money out of the hides of U.S. workers: witness the permanent mass layoff of hundreds of thousands of government workers, the drastic reduction of vital services in the big cities, the various fiscal crises, uncontrollable inflation, the chronic unemployment which has hardly ever fallen below 6% for ten years (the so-called recession line).

Therefore, increasingly, U.S. bosses must turn to the same "solution" German, Italian and Japanese capitalism turned to in the 1930s—**fascism.** While fascism as such does not yet exist in the U.S., events are moving in that direction. The sharp depression in living and wage standards of the working class is one of the hallmarks of fascism. Once the ruling class finds it absolutely necessary to enforce that depression with state power in a full way, fascism will emerge.

**But today, U.S. bosses do not have the options they had 50 years ago. Their need to keep workers in check today is vital to their very existence. And their ability to do this largely depends on how much help they get from their lieutenants in the labor movement.**

If workers, again led by communists —this time by the revolutionary ideas of the Progressive Labor Party—organize to challenge these traitors, it will weaken the ruling class and make it even more desperate. Then it will no longer be merely a fight between workers and bosses over wages and conditions. It will become a battle between a U.S. ruling class bent on fascism and war to save its shrinking piece of the pie, and the potential for working-class socialist revolution.

The labor "leaders" know they can't pull workers into the abyss of war and fascism by extolling it. So they put forward "tough talk" and "progressive measures," and "blast" Carter, and even talk about a "dose of socialism," while they plot to foist still another "lesser evil" on the working class, this time apparently Ted Kennedy. But there is no more reason for workers to put their faith in the moves of Fraser, Winpisinger and Co. than there is to have faith in these fakers at contract time. The actions of these "leaders" on day-to-day conditions are cut from the same cloth as their actions "outside" the factories, in the political sphere. Both

# *Gotbaum: In Bed With the Banks*

On March 7, 1979, the Fiorello H. LaGuardia award was given to Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District Council 37 of AFSCME, the largest municipal workers' union in the country. The award, presented by the New School for Social Research, was to "honor Gotbaum for his crucial role in (New York's) fiscal crisis." And what was this role? According to an article in **The New Yorker** magazine (April 30, 1979):

"It was Gotbaum who persuaded not only the 110,000 members of District Council 37 but the 'leaders' of most of the other municipal unions that the city could not make it unless they went along with a wage freeze and cuts in benefits —and who, during the months that followed, was the strongest force in keeping the labor scene here relatively calm as the city-employee rolls were reduced by 60,000 workers.

"In addition, he helped sell to other local unions on New York's 'creative' contribution to the history of municipal finance—the investment of three and a half billion dollars from city-employee pension funds in city securities **that no other investors would touch**—and he played a leading role in last year's fight for the federal loan-guarantee bill, whose terms require the same pension funds to invest a billion dollars more in city bonds, **only a third of which will be protected by federal guarantees.**" (our emphasis)

It is no wonder that there "were a large number of ...people representing giant banks, corporations, labor and the political world," at the dinner honoring this fink, as well as speakers like Mayor Koch, Governor Carey and Felix Rohatyn, former chairman of "Big MAC," set up by the ruling class to get the bankers and the bosses through the crisis. Rohatyn has described Gotbaum as "today probably my closest personal friend."

It is also no mystery why the New York City Chamber of Commerce and Industry and some large New York City corporations paid for a full-page advertisement in the **New York Times** of March 7 celebrating the award to Gotbaum. Alongside a picture of this junior partner of the bosses was another photo, of the chairman of the dinner, one William M. Ellinghaus, who is president of the richest corporation in the world, AT&T.

This leader of the U.S. ruling class "hailed" Gotbaum as "a gentleman, a scholar" and "a statesman," and friend. No doubt this should be a comforting thought to the 60,000 city workers who Gotbaum helped to throw in the street in the service of the likes of Ellinghaus.

Is it any wonder we declare that "all fascists must be killed," including the social fascists who run U.S. unions on behalf of a U.S. capitalists system heading pell mell for war?

serve the needs of capitalism, whatever they happen to be at the moment.

### THE ROLE OF REVISIONISM

What has been the main influence over these "leaders," both in the U.S. and in the nationalist-turned-fascist movements around the world? None other than the arch betrayer of communist revolution, revisionism. Revisionists come under many names and colors, but their practice is the same—they claim to be socialists who have "revised" Marxism-Leninism to be "more relevant to today." In fact, whether they are former communists, CPers, Maoites, Trotskyites, social democrats, "independent radicals" or whatever, they have revised socialist ideas to the point where all their theory and practice serves to betray revolution and maintain capitalism in power.

In the U.S. the formerly-communist leaders of large trade unions abandoned all pretenses to communist ideas by the 1950s. Many of them continued in office in these unions while others continued to support what they still call the "militant" and "progressive" forces in the labor movement—Davis of the hospital workers union (District 1199), the Balanoff-Sadlowski forces in the steelworkers' union, the District 65 leadership in NYC, the "anti-reactionary" (pro-Kennedy) forces in such unions as the UAW, the IAM, the UMW (they were among traitor Arnold Miller's biggest boosters), and so on.

These traitors, such as Davis, Balanoff, etc., whether or not they actually belong to the "Community" Party, still subscribe to a revisionist outlook, still try to line up the workers on the side

*TEACHING A LESSON: New York teachers demonstrate against racist leadership of union president Shanker, one of the most open fascists in union leadership. The sign gives the correct answer to this problem.*

of one group of bosses (the liberals) against the "ultra-right" group. They like to take on the appearance of militant talk, but when push comes to shove, these revisionist traitors **always** move to eradicate the revolutionary forces, the real Left. Whenever PLP-led forces expose the racism and pro-capitalist stance of the revisionist-backed union hacks, we are met with an onslaught of charges of "anti-unionism," "dual unionists," "splitters," etc., and are subject to fascist repression.

That's what is behind Davis's dirty work in the firing of a PL member at New York's NYU Hospital, after a CAR-PL slate had won an election there. That's the reason for Fraser's use of 1000 goons against 35 PL-led sitdown strikers at the Chrysler Mack Avenue plant and Winpisinger's fight to maintain the expulsion of a PLer who had been elected shop steward by his co-workers.

All these were fascist acts. Revisionism will always either lead to, or resort to, fascism when threatened by revolutionary forces. This is not something peculiar to the U.S. It is **universal.** In many other countries it takes the form of "two-stage revolution." In Iran, the "Left" attacked the Shah as a tool and ally of U.S. imperialism. These anti-Shah forces were ready to support bringing in Khomeini in the name of a "broad democratic front" to oust the Shah. "Socialism will come later," they said. This line was supported by revisionists the world over.

What happened? The militance of the masses, whose heroic armed struggle overthrew the Shah and his billion-dollar, U.S.-supplied weaponry, became a movement that installed another set of bosses, led by Khomeini. This new boss has unleashed a fascist terror qualitatively no different than the Shah's. He has executed hundreds of militant, left-revolutionary workers and attacked national minorities, using the cover of having executed some Shah agents as his "credentials" (which helped him consolidate power as a new ruling class replacing the Shah). He is even using old members of the Shah's Savak (secret police) to kill and torture.

**Revolutionaries understand that exchanging one set of bosses for another only continues our oppression. A boss is a boss. "United fronts" with liberal bosses mean capitalism continues to run the**

**show. This is as true in Nicaragua and Vietnam as it is in Iran. Its ultimate conclusion is revealed in the Soviet Union and China where revisionists who have usurped revolutionary power and installed themselves in power, absolutely must resort to fascism to try to wipe out revolutionary opposition.**

Many times the "militant" actions of revisionists prior to their taking power seem to be causing tremendous ferment among the masses. This has been true in Latin-America, Asia, Africa and Western Europe. Revisionists in Italy, France, Mexico and elsewhere often organize marches of millions of workers on behalf of revisionist goals. These goals involve, essentially, supporting one group of bosses against another. Such struggles can be, and often are, militant and even violent armed battles. Most are cloaked in pseudo-revolutionary rhetoric, but violence on behalf of any bosses will never emancipate the working class.

When the working class responds to these goals—virtually always in support of liberal bosses or a "progressive" program against a "more reactionary" group of the "ultra right"—they are not responding to Left leadership. Although the workers will engage in many heroic acts in the course of this response, that is the secondary aspect of such "ferment." The primary aspect is the fact that they have been mis-led into following right-wingers.

Revolutionaries must not be fooled by this "ferment," any more than we might believe that a Winpisinger or a Fraser who "blasts" Carter has anything more on his mind than substituting a Kennedy. While we must work among workers involved in movements directed against the bosses in power, whether it be a Carter or a Tony Boyle in the UMW or a Shah, we must expose the role of the liberals, the "progressives"—the revisionists and their idols—as leading the working class to the same kind of repression we already have (and sometimes worse).

"Two-stage revolution" never works, whether in Iran or the UMW. "Sharing power" with a new set of bosses to throw out the old set simply produces a new set of bosses, nothing more. Revolutionaries, while participating in the militant actions of workers, must **always** put forward socialist revolution as the answer, which means "sharing power" with no one—the dictatorship of the proletariat, throwing out **all** bosses.

**The "lesser evil" theory that permeates the U.S. trade union movement, and is always backed by revisionists of every stripe, has kept the working class on a treadmill of supporting capitalism. Now it means backing fascism to save a declining capitalist system. This "lesser evil" theory—backing Stevenson against Eisenhower, John Kennedy against Nixon, Johnson against Goldwater, Robert Kennedy against Johnson, Humphrey against Nixon, Carter against Ford and now Ted Kennedy against Carter—has brought the U.S. working class only more racism, more mass unemployment, more inflation, more job insecurity, closer to world war, closer to fascism; in other words, more of the same capitalist oppression, only worse.**

Our job is to lead U.S. workers to revolution. This has only one stage, the ongoing fight against all bosses, uniting with none. We aim to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and wipe out all bosses. The revisionists and their "heroes" in the leadership of unions who would mislead us down the "lesser evil," "two-stage" road would lead us straight to the hell of fascism. We must fight for revolution, not for reform, and we must smash these traitors along with the bosses they serve.

## REVOLUTION AND REFORM

Having drawn that conclusion, revolutionaries cannot, nevertheless, absent themselves from the reform struggle. However, our participation in reform struggles is qualitatively different, because we understand that it is not an end in itself. Our understanding of the class nature of society leads us to a far different role in these struggles than the "reformers," honest or otherwise. Our aim is to end capitalism, not to teach it manners.

There are at least three fatal flaws in thinking that capitalism can be reformed and its problems solved within the system, that is, within the reform struggle.

(1) Unlike the reformers, communists understand that there are opposing classes with **antagonistic** interests: the working class, which produces all value, and the ruling class—a tiny minority—which takes the lion's share of that value

for itself, and for reinvestment in more profitable ventures at home and abroad. As these bosses come into conflict internationally with other capitalists bent on the same goal, wars result, especially world wars, to "settle" the conflicting claims over areas of exploitation.

The antagonism between the oppressors and the oppressed is not an "accident;" the result of "bad" presidents. **It is built into the nature of capitalism.** Capitalists **must** seek **maximum** profits. Capitalists who make less become weaker and are in danger of ceasing to be capitalists (it's called "going out of business"). That is what Chrysler is trying desperately to avoid. Being driven to reap **maximum** profits means being driven to give the working class the **minimum**. But the working class must survive—therefore, it has always fought back against the bosses' attempts to minimize its share. This is what we call class struggle. It is the motive force of history and determines all events.

Thus, capitalists do not "share" profits. They will not allow workers to "democratically control investments." Those who might would quickly be driven out of the market place by the more powerful capitalists. But reformers who do not use the class struggle as the starting point of their understanding will constantly place themselves on a treadmill of trying to convince or cajole or push capitalists not to act like capitalists.

(2) Reformers lack an understanding of the true role of the state, or at least they want to confuse the working class's own understanding. The government, or state, is not a "neutral" force to be pushed to the right or left, depending on how strong the contending forces are. **The state is an instrument of class rule.** The capitalist class, which controls the government under capitalist society, will never give up its control over profits and the profit system without an all-out fight to the death. No ruling class has ever left the stage of history peacefully, from the Roman and Greek slaveholders, to the feudal lords, to the Czar. The U.S. capitalist class, or any group of bosses in any part of the world, will not allow itself to be "voted" out of power. When they see the danger of workers rising up to throw them out, they resort to fascism, the open terrorist rule of the main section of the ruling class, to fight to the death.

The working class has no choice but to oppose the bosses in like fashion. Otherwise, workers will meet the fate that befell their brothers and sisters in Nazi Germany and fascist Italy and Japan. Under capitalism the bosses control all the powers of the state apparatus. There is no freedom for workers once it interferes with making maximum profits. To think workers can influence the government "leftward," to think that there is such a thing as "the left wing of the Democratic Party," is to fall right into the arms of the bosses, and, in the present decline of U.S. capitalism, into the arms of fascism—which is exactly where the Fraser-Winpisinger-Hayden-DSOC axis would lead us.

(3) Reformers functioning narrowly within the system cannot go beyond their own movement, cannot have a world outlook, cannot see the influence of contradictions and forces outside their own immediate struggle for reform. That is why virtually all of the reform movements outlined in this article, for instance, ignore the bosses' ace-in-the-hole in dividing the working class—racism. And, of course, those "reformers" bent on **deliberately** serving the bosses, **promote** racism. Without fighting racism, the working class fights with both hands tied behind its back; its strength is sapped. To launch **any** struggle against the bosses in power without fighting against racism dooms the battle from the start.

Similarly, reformers fail to see the effect of broader contradictions, such as the imperialist rivalry of the USSR and the USA. It is this rise of the Russian bosses that is pushing U.S. bosses to the wall. While Winpisinger and Fraser prattle about "curbing the corporate power of the oil companies" and the Harringtons want "democratic control of investments," U.S. bosses are **driven** by their contradiction with the Soviet Union to oppress the U.S. working class more intensively than ever. That is the last chance to counteract the shortage of capital investment resulting from their loss of markets internationally. And, as all imperialists have been, the U.S. bosses will be driven to war to save their system, and will drag U.S. workers with them to produce for that war, to fight and die in that war, to kill "foreign" workers in that war. Vietnam was just a small taste of where that process is heading.

The reformers will, by the very nature of their relation to the system—working **within** it, to "reform" it—defend the system and try to save it by backing a "patriotic" war against "our" enemy (again, no **class** analysis of war for whom?). Therefore, honest reformers who are duped by this non-class analysis will accept fascism as "necessary" to fight that war. And "reformers" who are already on the other side—such as the trade union leadership—will **promote** it.

Therefore, to fight for reform domestically without an internationalist outlook will not only undermine the reform struggle itself but will inevitably place you on the wrong side of the struggle, on the bosses' side.

Finally, it is not enough to merely "have" such a class analysis; it is necessary to **put it into practice**. In fact, that is the only way the analysis can constantly be sharpened and keep pace with all the twists and turns of the class struggle. That is the role of a communist party, such as PLP. And we enter the reform struggle precisely to:

- Oppose the ruling class at every turn;
- Unite the working class in militant struggle;
- Point out all the conclusions spelled out in this article, which flow from, and answer, the problems of the working class, out of which we,
- Win the working class to revolution, to an internationalist outlook, to overthrow capitalism (not "reform" it). This is the **MAIN** reason for entering the reform struggle.

With these ideas, communists become the best fighters in the reform struggle because only communist ideas can answer each ruling class idea which automatically limits the fight to one **within** the system and chops it down at every turn. This is especially true now, when the ruling class needs fascism and war to save its system, and a reformist outlook will wind up accepting the cuts, the layoffs, the loans to the bosses from workers' pension funds, etc.

Moreover, revolutionary struggle needs a **united** working class, which is why communists single out the fight against racism as central to the class struggle against the bosses who create, and profit from, this racism. The fight against racism under capitalism must be a **mass** fight, a **violent** fight (since racism by its nature is a violent attack on the working class, especially on black, Latin, Asian and Native American workers), a **multi-racial** fight, and a fight based on **class** interest (since **all** workers, including white workers, are oppressed by racism). That is why communists in PLP build the International Committee Against Racism (InCAR). InCAR is the mass organization that can and does unite all workers, as workers, to oppose racism.

**The state is an instrument of class rule.**

For all the reasons cited above, the ruling class and their social-fascist lieutenants in the ranks of the workers, single out PLP and InCAR as the main enemy of the capitalist system. That is why they try to fire, jail, brutalize, and generally attack communists and anti-racist fighters. That is why they use every available tactic to prevent these ideas from reaching the working class. Unlike their servants in the DSOC, they know that workers will all too readily grasp the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the outlook of dialectical materialism, and use them to change the world. And "changing the world" means destroying capitalism and replacing it with the class rule of the working class—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

These are the ideas communists bring to the reform struggle. And these are the ideas that, through class struggle, will bury the social fascists and their capitalist mentors. Winpisinger, Fraser and Co. are on the side of the class that is making its exit from the stage of history. The working class, led by its communist party, is making its entrance, front and center. Let the clash begin! We have nothing to lose but our oppression under capitalism; we have a communist world to win!

By S.O'H.

*Painting the South Red*

# Building the Party in Tupelo

MISSISSIPPI. To many of us the very name has a fearful ring. To many who took part in the civil rights movement of the '60s or grew up during that period, Mississippi symbolizes the most extreme racism, the most brutal murders of anti-racists and of black workers, and the stronghold of the Ku Klux Klan. For many, the words of Phil Ochs summed it up—"Mississippi, find yourself another country to be part of."

But for our Party today, Mississippi has a different meaning. In Mississippi, in Tupelo and the area around it, we have begun the task of building a base for revolution among black and white workers, spreading the ideas of multi-racial unity and the fight for socialism in the South. From small beginnings, through the growth of the Tupelo Summer Project, and with the beginning of a permanent concentration in Tupelo, we have planted the red flag of revolutionary communism in the country that Mississippi is part of.

This article will examine the beginning of our work in Tupelo: how we planned it; how we as communists went about doing our day-to-day work in the Deep South; our successes and failures in carrying out our struggle against the Klan and its masters in the U.S. ruling class; and the lessons we learned. It will also discuss our plans to continue this work in the months and years ahead. Over this past summer about one hundred comrades and friends, black, Latin, Asian and white, took part in this struggle—some for a day, some for a week, others for the whole summer. All of them contributed to our understanding of the work in

*PL and InCAR contingent at Thanksgiving week march in Tupelo, 1978. The march was the last big activity of the United League. UL's leadership showed its colors by allowing the Ku Klux Klan to march by untouched.*

Tupelo; all took some of that understanding home to their own areas.

Tupelo became the center of our work in Mississippi for two reasons. Although relatively small, Tupelo, with a population of 20,000, is the center of an industrial area in Northeast Mississippi with more than 14,000 industrial workers. Industrial workers are key to building a revolutionary movement, because it is from their labor that capitalism makes its profits. In recent years, the South has assumed great importance to the U.S. ruling class as an industrial area because its carefully-nurtured tradition of racism has made it the citadel of low-wage non-union labor, where the bosses have been able to keep the working class divided and weak in order to extract extra profits.

The second factor that drew our Party to Tupelo was a recent history of anti-Klan struggle, carried out by a group called the United League, which in its earlier stages appeared to be a positive, anti-racist force acting against the Klan, segregation, racism on the job, and unemployment. Unfortunately this group ultimately became not an ally, but one of the main obstacles to work in Tupelo. The twin evils of pacifism and anti-communism turned it into its opposite.

## THE UNITED LEAGUE: PACIFISM AND NATIONALISM

The United League was started some years ago and quickly attracted the support of thousands of black workers in Northeast Mississippi. The issues were there, and the UL offered some leadership. During 1978 the black community in Tupelo was enraged over the vicious actions of the Tupelo Police Department, and the UL built a mass base in Tupelo around this issue. Black women workers played a key role in this process. The League had many grassroots organizers from the community.

There is a clear class line, however, between the membership and the leadership of the United League. While the rank and file are overwhelmingly industrial and other oppressed workers, the bigshots in the League are distinctly petty bourgeois. The head of the UL, Skip Robinson, is a contractor, and his main sidekick, Lou Myers, is an attorney. Most of his other cronies are also lawyers and ministers. While this background does not, in itself, explain their sellout politics, it shows the class basis

*(Continued on page 38)*

*Washington*

# "We Won't Fight t

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# the Bosses' War!"

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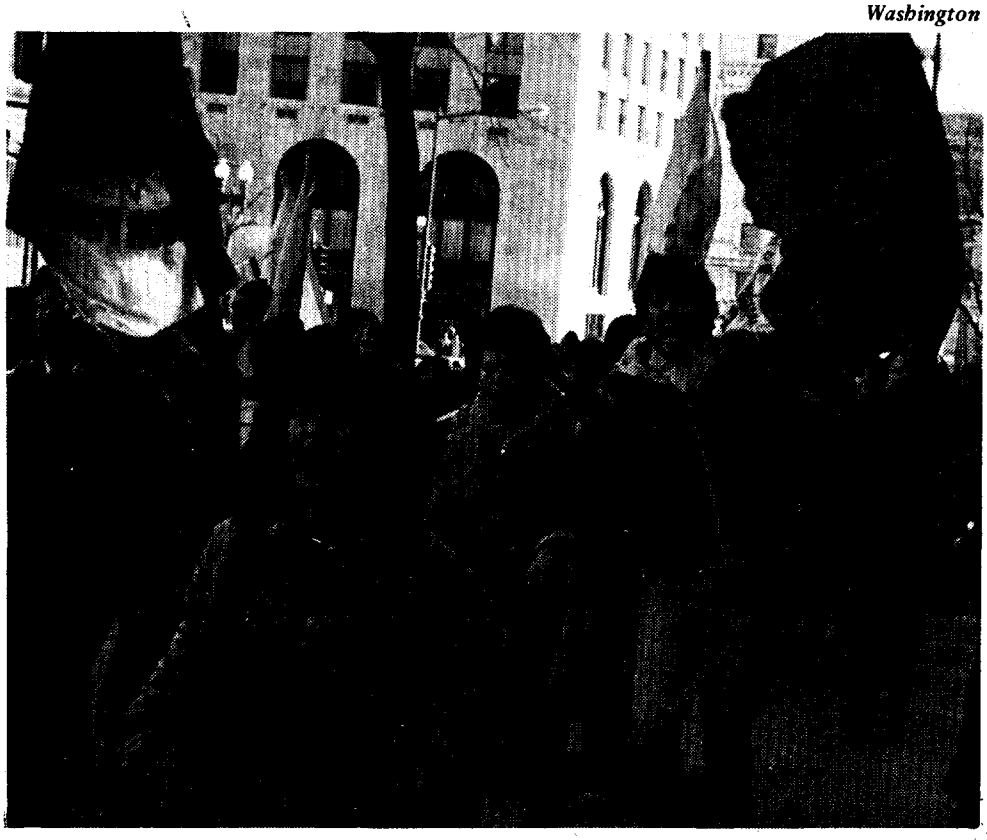
an organized group ors defied the govern-monstrations in front e, and under the noses vernment, waved the tion. The ban, meant front for capitalism's licies, was broken.

e day, other PL-led n Los Angeles, Minn-ago brought the same orking class. The only will win is revolution!

*Washington*



*(Continued from page 35)*

of their mistrust and contempt for the workers, and their attempts to build their own careers at the expense of the class struggle. It is the working class, black and white, which, because of its relation to production, has the outlook and the ability to destroy racism and the system which spawns it.

In September 1978 a group of black workers in Okolona—a small town near Tupelo—were framed on charges of shooting into the homes of some whites. At the trial the police witnesses completely contradicted each other, and the trial turned into a sham. By the end of the trial, with the racists losing badly, a number of Klansmen drew guns. Black workers got their guns, and there was a shootout on the courthouse steps, ending in a standoff.

The next day, over 400 black workers and students from Okolona and Tupelo marched in Okolona. Lou Myers, the chief lawyer for the League, tried to stop the march the day before, using pure fear as his tactic. The resolve of the workers was only strengthened. Finley Campbell of InCAR drew cheers at the rally at the end of the march with his call for multi-racial unity and Death to the Klan. The cowardly Klan could only summon up enough courage to burn a cross later that night on the lawn of the Okolona mayor—himself a Klansman.

An anti-Klan march at Thanksgiving, attended by over 1400 people, included a contingent of 60 from PLP and the International Committee Against Racism (InCAR). This march helped us understand the fundamental nature of the United League, and also to realize that workers in the South were very receptive to our ideas, especially multi-racial unity and smashing the Klan. Our task then became to plan how to attack the racist monster in its cradle—the South.

By the Thanksgiving march, the League was beginning to wane. Although 1400 came to the march, the turnout of Tupelo workers was small. This was solely the fault of the U.L. leadership and its political line. During the summer of '78, in response to the blatant racism in Tupelo and in the schools, as well as unbridled police brutality and terrorism, directed particularly against black workers, the League had made a set of demands against the Tupelo City government, including affirmative action proposals. The League organized two mass marches in support of these demands. The first was the march that brought the League its biggest publicity. This was because it was the biggest League march, but more importantly because it was the beginning of the end for the UL. This was because at this march the KKK broke the ranks of the parade and was allowed by the League leadership to escape unscathed. First they marched in front of the post office and then at the police station. Although there were no more than 30 of the vermin, UL leaders restrained the marchers from attacking them. Our experience in confronting the KKK and the Nazis has taught us that this sort of pacifism is a loser. Even if they don't attack our marches now, every time they march without resistance they gain publicity and build their image of invincibility.

The role of "Klan protectors" during the march was performed by members of fake left groups such as the "Revolutionary" Student Brigade and the October League. These cops in "left uniforms" marched alongside our contingent to protect the Klan from us and to keep away workers who would have joined our ranks. The bankruptcy of these pacifist ideas was shown in the events of that night. After the march was over and the crowd long gone, reports were heard that the Klan was planning to go to black neighborhoods near the starting point of the march. Black workers poured out of their houses with rifles and shotguns. Needless to say, the KKK did not show up; they knew that this time there were no pacifist mis-leaders to protect them from these workers who were ready and willing to wipe them off the face of the earth.

Another reason the UL put forward for not attacking the Klan was that, after the march, the people from Mississippi would be "left alone to face the heat." The events of the night destroyed both the myth of helplessness and the idea that safety lay either in "cool-it" deals with the local police or in legal maneuvers with the Mayor or police chief—both Klan members anyway. The truth is, the heat black workers face is there **every day**, and it will get worse unless racism is fought and the Klan smashed.

Mistrust of the rank-and-file showed in all of these maneuverings by the UL leadership. They very cynically used the militance of the rank-and-file in Tupelo during secret negotiations with the city over the affirmative action proposals. The League called off all public activity at the city's request. The ego-

tistical Skip Robinson believed that he alone could turn the militancy of black workers all over Mississippi on or off like a faucet, but this worked in favor of the city. First, the only way that the demands could ever be won was through mass activity, not by clever maneuvering by League lawyers. Second, the League members, not getting any reports on what was happening, or having any meetings, could only correctly guess the worst—a sellout. Our experience showed that it is the rank-and-file and not the lawyers who can be trusted. We found that workers, both those who marched and those who were tired of only marching, are ready for very advanced ideas. Over 500 **Challenges** and 350 **InCAR Arrows** were sold. People took thousands of InCAR leaflets, one hundred InCAR contact cards were signed, and a number of people joined CAR on the spot.

To follow up on these good beginnings, regular visits were made to Tupelo after the march, and a Christmas project was held. The major thrust of this project was to try to gain a toehold in the industrial working class of Tupelo. We tried to do this by organizing strike support activity at the Purnell Pride poultry plant. One of the earliest struggles we had with the United League was over the necessity of gaining a base in the working class. The League's following was mainly rural workers who lived outside the city. The strike at Purnell was the cutting edge of the bosses' attack against unionization in Tupelo. The bosses were united in their effort to smash the union, and the hacks from the International were eager to help. Over 30 strikers came to an InCAR meeting and together we planned to stop the scabs the next morning, but the union forbade any involvement by the strikers and threatened to end the meager strike benefits to those who participated. Despite this setback, we held rallies and picket lines at shopping centers and urged all workers to help with the strike.

At the conclusion of the Christmas project, InCAR's Tupelo membership had grown dramatically and the UL's hit a new low. Skip Robinson fingered new CAR members so that the cops could systematically visit them in their homes and threaten them. Buoyed by the success of this Christmas project, two comrades moved to Tupelo, and planning began for a large summer project and the beginning of permanent work in the area.

### SUMMER PROJECT GOALS

The goals set for the summer project were: to double Tupelo CAR membership from 50 to 100 members; to sell 500 **Challenges** and **Arrows** weekly; to build a strong city-wide InCAR chapter of local workers; to recruit to the Party.

The project divided into three areas of work—industrial, youth and community. Each of these groups was to be responsible for daily **Challenge** sales and agitation, as well as for carrying out a specific program to build InCAR. For youth, there were anti-racist classes and a struggle to reopen a community center. A community InCAR chapter was formed with its base in the housing projects. It was able to mobilize many people to march in our major demonstrations July 7th and August 4th.

**It became clear that we needed to focus on industrial workers in Tupelo.**

It became clear to us that we needed to focus on industrial workers in Tupelo. The majority of the workers here are in industry (electrical equipment and auto parts, including tires, are the major industries, followed by garment and meat-packing). Conditions in the plants are mostly below average: low wages, no job security, open racism and segregation, and lousy working conditions. Our understanding of the key role of industrial workers in making a revolution, and the initial favorable responses we got from both black and white workers, reinforced this decision. Although our industrial committee initially did a lot of agitation at many different plants, we soon realized that the only way to make a breakthrough in industry was to concentrate on one plant and do serious basebuilding with the workers there. With this understand-

*KICKOFF TIME: June 6th Little Rock demonstration helped get the Tupelo Summer Project off in the right spirit as a large and militant group kicked the Ku Klux Klan off the University of Arkansas campus.*

ing we began a concentration at DayBrite, an electrical equipment manufacturer.

### THE SUMMER BEGINS: LITTLE ROCK AND OKOLONA

Two events early in June, although not in Tupelo, helped set the tone of the project and win new friends for InCAR and the Party. The first was a successful anti-Klan demonstration at the University of Arkansas in Little Rock on June 6th. Summer project volunteers from Tupelo went to Little Rock and, along with students from the university, broke up a major Klan rally and ripped the hood off a Klansman. Two members of InCAR were arrested. The story of mass violence against the Klan in the South made front page news in many cities and was reprinted in the local Tupelo newspaper. This really helped us, as it showed that InCAR was more than just talk and was ready to take risks to carry out our line. Talk of the attack on the Klan was all over town, and workers from DayBrite came to congratulate us. Many older workers in particular were really excited about it.

Also early in June came another event which influenced our work, and from which we learned an important lesson. In Okolona a black youth, Lee Carouthers, a trusty (prisoner) in the Chickasaw County Jail, was shot and killed **inside** the jail by a cop. The response in Okolona was outrage and anger. Five hundred workers attended the funeral, and there

was a march of over 500 the next day. The United League's response to this was to call for appointment of a black investigator to "get the details of the killing"! We called for **execution** of the killer cop, Rogers, and made that the No. 1 demand on our city-wide petition and the central demand of our marches in July and August in Tupelo.

What we did not do, however, was carry on consistent work in Okolona. We made the mistaken estimate that the United League had a big base there and would stop us from doing anything. Later events showed that we could have been the leaders of the marches that followed. At the time of the murder we did not have a base in Okolona; being bold would have helped us build one.

### DAYBRITE WORKERS: KEY TO VICTORY

DayBrite, the focus for the project's industrial concentration, is a manufacturer of electrical equipment. It is owned by Emerson Electric, a major corporation with annual sales in the $2 billion range and 1978 net income of nearly $170 million. Like many large manufacturers, Emerson has been moving plants and jobs into the low-wage South in recent years (e.g. the Jersey City plant, closed 6 years ago) and recently pulled out entirely from St. Louis, Mo., its long-time headquarters.

The DayBrite plant in Tupelo is one of the few unionized plants in town. Unionization, however, means little at DayBrite. The wages in Tupelo are 30% lower than were paid in St. Louis—that is why the plant was moved. Ancient hazardous machinery continues in use. There is constant harassment and speedup; workers in one area regularly lose part of their break time because the buzzer doesn't sound in their area. And there is **no** sick leave at all!

There is, however, a history of rank-and-file militancy in the plant. There have been a number of strikes, including one in 1978 which lasted six weeks and cut enough production to show up in Emerson's balance sheet. Some of these strikes have been led by women workers.

During the height of the Klan's public activity in the Tupelo area many black workers went into work at the plant armed. A large number of the DayBrite workers were active in the United League when it was growing, and many have been supportive of InCAR since we first began leafletting there last winter.

As the industrial plan for Tupelo shifted toward concentration on the DayBrite plant, we began a weekly DayBrite newsletter, which almost all of the workers took. Agitational sales of **Challenge** at the plant increased from 15 to 30 a week, and about 15 more were being sold inside the plant, for a weekly total of between 40 and 50 papers. This success did not set well with the plant bosses. They responded by trying to build anti-communism inside the plant, warning the workers away from the project workers outside. When this did not work, they turned to calling the cops on us daily. By midsummer, the cops were there regularly at all shift changes, showing the political weakness of the bosses. We were not alone in recognizing the industrial concentration as key to the project. The ruling class also understands this; this is reflected in the fact that the greatest harassment was directed at the DayBrite committee. We were threatened with arrest for leafletting and **talking to** workers passing by. The cops directed traffic at shift changes to keep workers from getting our literature, and threatened us with arrest for "upholding traffic." We were tailed by a motorcycle cop for 45 minutes after one sale; the cop left us only when we returned to the housing projects. And one CAR member was arrested on fake charges of "forging checks" after a rally; when a friend stopped at the plant gate she was arrested for speeding one mile over the limit.

**We were constantly encouraged and urged to stand up to the cops**

This open harassment angered many of the DayBrite workers. We were constantly encouraged and urged to stand up to the cops. Some workers pledged to go to their union reps and demand the

union go on record against the police action. And the workers continued to take our literature and to take it into the plant. We put forward InCAR's industrial program of 30 hours work for 40 hours pay and smashing the Klan and found numbers of white workers who were friendly and interested. Our experiences at DayBrite helped us see that the combination of day-to-day basebuilding and bold, consistent political agitation are the key to winning industrial workers to our ideas in the South, just as elsewhere. Our plans for the fall are to continue this work and to put out a regular newsletter about the need for rank-and-file power in the union to stop layoffs and kick the Klan out of industry.

### THE BATTLE OF TUPELO COURTHOUSE

As the project volunteers did mass work we found that workers were more receptive to marching than to any other activity. The civil rights movement and the United League have left a tradition of marching here, and we were constantly asked "When is the next march?" Our most important march took place on July 9th. Important not only in itself—it was the first of its kind in the Deep South held under the leadership of our Party and InCAR—but important also because our response when attacked during the march showed the working class of Tupelo our seriousness and our ability to maintain our ranks even under the sharpest attack, and showed the depth of the ties we had built.

The July 9th march began near public housing and moved through the projects, gathering more people. We marched downtown, chanting "Death to the Fascists, Power to the Workers!" and were greeted by friendly workers along the route. We spoke of the brutality of the police and the necessity to put an end to them. The difference between us and the United League became sharper and clearer when speakers called for violent revolution against this racist and rotten system.

**As we rallied outside the courthouse, speaking from a van, shots rang out. Five marchers were hit by buckshot, but the marchers, in disciplined rows on the courthouse steps, held their ground chanting "We are not afraid!" Daniel Brazil, the racist who had fired the shots, kept walking down the block, reloading his shotgun. Sixty seconds passed, and the cops still stood idly by. Many members of the United League looked on, wondering what kind of response InCAR would have. The response was quick and sharp. Our security forces knocked Brazil to the ground, breaking his neck. This action, more than anything else, illustrated the politics of InCAR—the necessity to use violence, disciplined violence, against these scum. The action won InCAR a lot of respect from workers.**

(The following two letters are from Jr. High School students who participated in the July 7 march in Tupelo, Miss. They are the future of our class.)

Dear **Challenge:**

I'm writing to you to let you know that the papers that you sent us are really helping us a lot. On the march on Saturday we marched from Debro to Lockbridge to the police station. More people came to the march. I was on security and I stayed with the crowd. Except for two of our people who ran out of the crowd, we kept on marching. The march that we had, I thought was a good thing for the people. My age is 12 years old and I go to Lawhon Jr. High School. I am a member of InCAR's Freedom School in Tupelo.

From,
Christy

Dear **Challenge:**

I was in the march and I thought it was great. Until a little while I ran because I got scared. My name is Wynema. I am 12 years old. I was just holding a flag. We had a march Saturday and it was raining. My mother was in the march too. I really didn't want to be in it but I just went on. I was not a security guard but my friend Christy was. When we marched in front of the courthouse one policeman got hit in the head and they took one man to jail that was marching with us. I am in InCAR. I go to Milam Jr. High School.

From,
Wynema Hunt, Tupelo

Meanwhile, the cops had taken no action. No action, that is, until we took their pet racist out of action. They had

*Members and friends of the Party and InCAR march on the home of Purnell Poultry boss in support of striking workers. This Christmas week 1978 demonstration was one of our first independent activities in the Tupelo area.*

expected that the attack would scare the marchers off and the demonstration would disintegrate. Instead, we dealt with the attacker, regrouped ourselves, and marched to the police station. Not only had we held a march to protest the killing of a youth by a racist cop, but we had not let ourselves be intimidated. At the police station, in a last-ditch attempt to break the march, they arrested Floyd Banks, the InCAR member who had been leading security. This, too, failed, as we had planned alternate leadership in case of arrests, and a woman comrade led the march back to the projects. Many new members joined InCAR.

The spirit of those who participated in this march is the stuff revolutions are made of—boldness, militancy, discipline and the desire to act as one force against the enemy. On July 9th we realized that we have a lot to learn from the workers of Tupelo in terms of their willingness to do battle with the enemy. In their response in the days after the march we realized that quantity had turned into quality: the amount of day-to-day work we had done had resulted in CAR changing from an outside force to an important part of the lives of Tupelo workers.

## FREE FLOYD BANKS

The ruling class of Tupelo did not take any of this lightly. They increased their harassment of residents, warning them not to have anything to do with InCAR. They arrested a woman who had shown concern for us at a DayBrite rally after the cops falsely arrested an InCAR member. They were angered that communists and anti-racists could go so far in an area that **only last summer** was considered a Klan stronghold!

As a last resort they decided to make an example of Floyd Banks. Their intent was clear—to warn Tupelo workers that working with InCAR would bring retaliation. They particularly wanted Floyd as their victim because he is a black working-class leader. He was charged with assault and battery with intent to commit murder.

The response of the working class of Tupelo was simple and deep. We were congratulated right and left by many workers. Many asked how they could help, and witnesses to the shooting came forward and offered to testify. Several local people put up their houses and property as collateral to allow Floyd to leave jail on bond. This strong local support helped us raise money around the country for Floyd's defense. Money began coming in from around the country, from both chapters and friends. A number of press people did favorable stories and helped us in locating legal aid and better

*Shotgun blasts from a Klansman did not stop this militant march on July 9th. March security squads broke the racist gunman's neck, and the marchers regrouped and continued on to a rally in front of the police station.*

publicity.

Above all, the workers in Tupelo, especially those who had been working with us or taking our literature at Day-Brite and in the projects, reacted with fury—fury against the cops, and fury against the ruling class that was prosecuting him. To the workers, Floyd and the others who had helped protect the march were heroes! They understood that the rat who had shot five people and would have shot more was crazy with racism, and that only the marchers, not the cops, would stop him.

InCAR and PLP began a mass campaign to get the charges dropped. The drive included press releases, press conferences, an added demand on our city-wide petition, and extensive legal work to organize the case. But most importantly it consisted of more and more mass agitation and basebuilding work among our contacts in Tupelo. We understood that the legal process holds no gifts for the working class, and that the same racist rulers who had the cops arrest Floyd and had the County Attorney prosecute him had every intention of having their courts convict him. We understood that only mass pressure by the working class could stop that process.

Another example of the way the legal system serves the ruling class may be seen in the Tupelo parade and sound amplifier ordinances. Prior to this summer Tupelo had no laws regulating parades or sound trucks—only laws against leafletting, union organizing activities and the like. Within two days after the July 9th march the city passed new ordinances, aimed specifically at InCAR; in effect banning marches, sound systems, and use of bullhorns in residential communities, forbidding marchers to carry arms of any sort or use profane language (with the definitions left up to the authorities), and placing ridiculous time limits on activities. So much for any idea that the government and the courts are impartial. Under capitalism, capitalists hold power—**and they use it.**

### AUGUST 4—UNDER THE GUN

The next major march of the summer project took place on August 4th, less than a month after the shotgun attack and only a few weeks after the new ordinances took effect.

Undaunted by threats, pointed guns, and racist harassment, the marchers massed in front of the Tupelo police station, demanding "Death to the Klan"

and "Jobs for Youth." The rally at the police station was the high point of a bold and spirited march against racist killings by cops. Among the marchers were industrial workers from Tupelo and students from the University of Mississippi. Black, Latin, Asian and white people marched together from the projects downtown through a working-class neighborhood, where more than 60 **Arrows** and 60 **Challenges** were sold. Both black and white workers were very receptive to the march.

The rally was held at the police station because it represents the cutting edge of oppression here. Although some workers felt uneasy about massing at the police station, knowing the brutality these pigs are capable of, they came anyway.

We marched and picketed and the cops pointed their guns, but they did nothing, because they and their masters knew that the fury of the working class would have been unleashed if they attacked us again. Instead, they tried harassment and intimidation to try to stop people from joining us. Before the march they flooded the projects where most InCAR members live with cops and paddy wagons, and warned people not to march. Despite this Tupelo workers did march, and became marshals and scouts for the march. This active involvement is what made the march such a success.

Intimidation was not the bosses' only tactic against this march. They tried to spread the illusion that change comes from nonviolence and through the courts. They put Skip Robinson, the head of the United League, in front of the TV cameras the day before the march to warn workers against marching with InCAR. But the tactic did not work. The work of the summer taught a new lesson to us and to the workers of Tupelo. The only way to battle fear is to move ahead, to do more political work, to reach more workers. When we were warned not to canvass, when some of us were fearful of canvassing, we realized that if we stopped doing the work the racist bosses would have won. We went ahead with the work, and relied successfully on the workers to protect our marches and activities.

Late in August Floyd was acquitted. This helped prove an important point—the working class movement can win victories when it relies on the power of the working class. Floyd was acquitted for only one reason—his conviction would have unleashed more action in Tupelo than the local rulers were prepared to risk. Mass sentiment against the racism of the cops and courts has been building up for years. Combined with the base Floyd had built among Tupelo workers during the many days he had spent organizing InCAR here, anything but an acquittal would have meant an extremely militant fightback, led by InCAR and PLP, with many new forces joining in.

The acquittal, of course, doesn't mean that the cops or the courts are now on our side—they aren't. They will attack us again whenever they think they can get away with it. And it doesn't mean the legal system is good—it isn't. It let Brazil go free, when he deserves to be six feet under. What it **does** mean is that being bold about fighting back wins allies in the working class, and a mass base in the working class can win victories now, and build for socialist revolution.

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**The only way to battle fear is to move ahead, to do more political work.**

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### LESSONS OF THE SUMMER

Within the limited time of the summer project our work in Tupelo was able to expand and to deepen its roots in the working class of Mississippi. By the end of the summer hundreds of workers, black and white, had come into contact with the Party and with InCAR. We received extensive news coverage. More importantly, hundreds of industrial workers had read our leaflets at DayBrite, Penn Tire, Kreuger Metal, Nachman Springs, and other plants. A regular newsletter circulated at DayBrite. In one day 70 **Challenges** were sold at the University of Mississippi campus, and we were able to put forward our line during a brief struggle against racist testing policies there. Scores of black workers in Okolona had read our literature and

some had attended our meetings. More than 75 workers had participated in our marches.

The main lesson we learned in Tupelo, as everywhere, is to **be bold**. We approached the project with some timidity, and didn't begin having regular bullhorn rallies until late June, mostly because of fear. But we saw that the bolder we were, the more seriously people took us and the more willing they were to respond to us. Workers understand that the system will come down hard when you try to fight it. They are also ready to understand that you only win on the offensive. The United League had put workers here on the defensive, relying on lawyers, prayer and pacifism. Our work turned that around, and put Tupelo workers on the offensive.

We also learned that basebuilding, along with consistent mass work, is the key to building our movement. Despite the limitations of time, the project volunteers built ties with workers and students and became involved in their lives. The majority of our time this summer was spent building a political base with people for InCAR and the Party.

**Every time we did bring our line to white workers we met an enthusiastic response.**

Although we did not meet our goals completely—our highest **Challenge** and **Arrow** sales were 300—we did sell the papers consistently at supermarkets, housing areas and factories, and won two DayBrite workers to selling inside the plant. Many other workers participated in other **Challenge** networks. Even so we did not rely, to the fullest extent, on workers in Tupelo to distribute the papers. This we now must do. We must also struggle harder to consolidate new members to CAR. Although nearly 40 people signed up over the summer, many have not yet paid. On the other hand, we did win a number of local people to take on the task of organizing InCAR in Tupelo, and several new members were recruited to the Party.

Since our Party began to work in Tupelo the situation has changed sharply. Long an area where new jobs were opening up constantly, Tupelo has become a center of high unemployment as the U.S. ruling class's economic crisis deepens. Layoffs have become common. In September, Penn Tire, the highest-paying plant in town, laid off 700 workers in two days and closed the plant. The state unemployment office is packed. Unemployment is especially high among youth.

Despite this economic crisis our line of anti-racism and multi-racial unity has made headway. Little more than a year ago Tupelo was in the news as a center of KKK activity. Today the Klan no longer marches openly here and has not since last winter. The growth of InCAR and PLP as serious forces here in Tupelo, and the South in general, have dealt the Klan a sharp blow. Our marches this summer declared war on them and their masters. As more and more workers, black and white, look to us for leadership, our movement can turn the South from a cradle of racism to a bastion of anti-racism and anti-capitalism.

### PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

Our collective, as well as the national Party leadership, has tried to learn from our mistakes. We made two serious mistakes this summer—not raising money from the workers in Tupelo and Northeast Mississippi, and not reaching out strongly enough to white workers.

Due mainly to our weaknesses in reaching out to and concentrating on winning white as well as black workers to InCAR, the goal of building a multiracial Tupelo InCAR Chapter was not reached. However, every time we did bring our line to white workers and students, we met an enthusiastic response, proving that they are open to a class line on racism. This response was reflected in **Challenge** sales. One mass sale in the downtown mall resulted in 40 papers sold mainly to white workers in the same number of minutes. On our first trip to the University of Mississippi Oxford Campus, 70 papers were sold in an hour, many of them to white students. This openness to anti-racist and communist ideas was also evident at the factory gates. Workers of all races stopped their

*Despite open threats of police and Klan violence and warnings from the United League's sellout leaders, Tupelo workers and students came out to march on August 4. The spirit of the march was a sharp answer to the threats.*

cars to take our leaflets in defiance of the police. Many gave clenched fist salutes, and shouted encouragement when they saw our banners with the slogans "Death to the KKK" and "Stop Racist Cop Terror." The fact that the masses of white workers and students in Tupelo and throughout the South are winnable to anti-racism is also shown in the inability of the bosses to mobilize white workers to attack us either at the factories or in the streets. All of this points to the potential and need to build a mass multiracial movement in the South **now**. In Tupelo the bosses want to build a mass base for fascism among whites, but we can destroy their plans. While many years of segregation, as well as KKK and boss terror have created some objective obstacles to overnight success in building CAR multi-racially, this goal can and must be attained with bolder and more concentrated efforts.

We have now been paying special attention to fundraising, collecting InCAR and PLP sustainers and holding weekly fundraising events. What we learned is not new—that fundraising is a political struggle. Some workers and retired people are now giving $1 a week. It doesn't sound like a lot, but it adds up. More importantly, it is a sign of commitment and solidarity to our movement. One parent who gives $1 weekly has twelve children and lives on Social Security. This is obviously a much larger contribution than most better-off people give. We need to reach more people to give $1 or $2 on a **regular** basis.

To an extent we have been taken in by the stereotype of Southern whites. Although our literature sharply attacks nationalism and racism and calls for multiracial unity, that is not enough. Very few people can be recruited just by reading literature. We have to take the problem of segregation head on by struggling for multi-racial CAR activities here. Our key to this will be in the high schools, where black and white students are side by side. A secondary place for this struggle is at DayBrite and other local plants.

This was the Tupelo summer project—a bold step forward to begin building our Party and InCAR in the Deep South, among workers oppressed by capitalism and divided by capitalism's racist poison. We have shown that it can be done, and that we can do it. This winter's work will be built on the foundation of the summer project, and will strengthen its victories.

By G.B.

## *Detroit Summer Project*

# Breakthrough in Auto

The Detroit Auto Summer Project was, in a very real sense, one of the most serious and ambitious undertakings mounted by the left in Detroit, and inside the auto industry, since the old Communist Party began organizing the United Auto Workers in the '20's and '30's.

In a word, we attempted to concentrate our forces on building anti-racism, anti-imperialism, and anti-fascism in the industry and inside the UAW, among tens of thousands of auto workers through the '79 contract struggle. We had no members inside the plants, and in fact, have never regained a foothold in auto since the UAW-led "witch-hunt" against the Party after the 1973 Mack Ave. Sit Down Strike where the UAW labeled us "Public Enemy No. 1." The goal of this project was to turn this unhealthy situation around, take an aggressive, mass approach, and put the Party and InCAR **inside** the plants and local unions, by winning the workers already there! Doing this from the "outside" is no easy task.

We concentrated on three "targets," one from each of the Big 3, putting into practice our slogan of "Strike the Big 3." They were:

- GM-Chevrolet Gear and Axle/UAW local 235:A 7 plant complex with about 10,000 workers, at least 50% black. A key complex to all GMAD and located in the heart of Detroit.
- FORD-River Rouge/UAW local 600: Henry Ford's monument to himself. At one point this complex had 100,000 workers, but is now "down" to over 30,000. Very thoroughly integrated, with a very high concentration of Arab workers, and the biggest single local in the UAW.

*Marching on Solidarity House, the UAW headquarters, Detroit Summer Project participants kicked off the campaign with demands for "No War Contract in '79," and a call for a strike against all of the Big Three automakers.*

- Chrysler-Lynch Rd. Assembly/ UAW local 961: In 1977, it was the scene of a very militant wildcat, with workers pelting the cops with bricks and bottles. In 1978, this plant underwent a $30 million retooling (who knows what they'll be turning out for the next war?). About 7,000 workers, mostly black and Arab, are employed here.

In addition, we made a secondary concentration at Chrysler's Dodge Main Assembly Plant just prior to the Project. Chrysler announced it would be closed, laying off over 5,000 workers by the end of the 1980 model year (July '80).

In order to carry out this Project, we set up three factory committees, one around each concentration point. These committees were the life of the Project, planning and carrying out six distributions per week at each plant, collecting signatures on the InCAR "No War Contract" petitions, making contact with the workers, following them up by arranging visits in the workers' homes, recruiting new InCar members, writing articles and leaflets, planning social functions and political actions, raising money, etc. In addition, an International Committee was set up to focus on the specific question of winning Arab workers into InCAR. This meant translation of all literature into Arabic, and a Saturday mobilization at Dix, an Arab ghetto that sits across the tracks from the Rouge plant, strictly segregated from the rest of Dearborn.

The Project started off like a shot out of a cannon, with plant distributions at three plants every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, morning and afternoon, and distributions at Dodge Main every Tuesday and Thursday afternoon. In between, there was canvassing in the neighborhood of the InCAR office and distributions in front of the unemployment office.

Overall, the first two weeks were a big success with many signatures collected on the petitions and scores of "contact cards" signed by workers, even though on a somewhat opportunist basis. **Challenge-Desafio** sales fluctuated between 50-100 at the plants and many more were sold in the neighborhoods, unemployment offices, and at Wayne State University where work was begun. Political struggle internally was very healthy and plentiful as comrades had their eyes focused on the auto plants and auto workers. At the end of the first two weeks, we held an

InCAR forum at the office which was fairly well attended, including about four new auto workers and a couple of people from the neighborhood.

There was only a modest effort at visiting workers in their homes, and due in part to the opportunism involved in making contacts ("is it all right if we give you a call?"), the task was beginning to look a little overwhelming. This led to some very good internal struggle around fighting opportunism, and focusing in on exactly what we were talking to the workers about. We made it clear that we wanted workers to understand that we were not "fighting a sellout" but rather building a multi-racial, anti-racist movement to combat war and fascism through this contract struggle in auto, and in fact win large numbers of auto workers to lead this movement, because of their strategic position in society, and that they should give us their names and numbers and arrange visits based on this understanding.

### BUILDING InCAR BUILDING THE PARTY

**The main contradiction inside the project was that of not fully appreciating the absolute need for building InCAR as a mass organization, especially in auto, and in addition, the relationship between the Party and InCAR, or to be more precise, why the Party builds InCAR as a major part of our overall strategy for the seizure of state power and the building of Socialism. This lack of understanding was based primarily on a lack of practical experience in building InCAR on the part of many Project participants, and within the Detroit organization. This seriously limited our ability to be more effective in the mass work and more aggressive in the follow-up. Moreover, it left us prey to an undue amount of confusion when attempts were made to sabotage the Project from within.**

All of this led to a general grinding down of the work from the end of June to mid-July, coupled with many transportation problems and a certain amount of fatigue. Some comrades raised that "the Party was being buried by all the InCAR activity" even though **Challenge** figures were consistently higher than any of the other figures, petition signatures, contacts, visits, etc., and in spite of the fact that at all bullhorn rallies, the majority of speeches were Party speeches since most Project workers were Party members. In fact, a case could have been made for the opposite position, that InCAR wasn't being built in the Project, and the very low number of visits and new members would have been very convincing. In any event, these incorrect observations, which threatened to become a consolidated position, generally reflected either a lack of understanding or a disagreement with the Project's main goal: building InCAR in auto as a mass organization to create many more opportunities for building the Party and the fight for socialism in basic industry. It was around this time that the PL magazine came out with the editorial **Smash Racism-Build The Party.** It became the focal point of the internal struggle, with everyone being told to read it and having it discussed in all Party clubs and collectives. This sharpened the struggle and made it clear that there were two lines in open conflict. At the same time a fight was made to sharply increase the mass work at the plant gates, and especially to make more contacts, visits, and new InCAR members. This struggle did not really begin to take hold until the end of July, when the InCAR Regional Steering Committee met in Detroit.

**New workers began to come around, giving leadership to the work.**

Prior to this, we had begun to discuss more concretely taking a sharp action against the auto bosses and their UAW goose-steppers, and made a plan to begin building for Auto Day, August 25. We tried to insure that every factory committee made ten visits a week (30 workers). We also said that we would try to bring some auto workers and Wayne students to the InCAR Mid-West Regional steering committee meeting being held in Detroit at the end of July.

The next week showed some small

*Auto workers lead the way as nearly 200 marched with InCAR and PLP on August 25, the high point of the Detroit Summer Project. Picket signs showed the names of hundreds of auto workers who had signed the InCAR auto petition.*

improvements. Although we didn't hit the target for visits, the number of visits made did jump, and two new InCAR members were signed up. The distributions took place, and the campus work began to pick up as well. We went to another UAW demo, which they tried to keep secret until that morning, and did pretty well considering the demo was very small and very bad. People began to talk more and more about the work, their contacts, the conversations with their base during visits, and less and less about each other. We had turned a very important corner in the Project.

That weekend was the InCAR regional meeting. A GM worker we had met by canvassing the neighborhood of the office, attended the meeting, spent the entire day with us, joined InCAR and came to a party that night. During the break in the meeting, we took everyone to an AFSCME picnic, where our largest trade union concentration is, and took part in a rally against the AFSCME social-fascist, sold about 150 **Challenges**, gave out hundreds of InCAR AFSCME newsletters, distributed posters for the auto day march, and came out with fifteen contacts and three new InCAR members. Another bright spot in action was that it was organized by a comrade who had never done it before, and involved mainly Detroit comrades, some of whom had been operating at a very low level before, in carrying out a union action.

**From this point on, it was a whole new ballgame. August 25 became the target, and visits to auto workers sharply increased, and kept increasing until the end of the Project. New workers began to come around, giving leadership to the work, and attending InCAR meetings and forum. The last remaining obstacle, again given all our weaknesses and limitations, appeared to be fatigue. It had been a very hard eleven weeks, money was scarce, and people were starting to count the days until they could go home. Some were even trying to figure out reasons to go home early. But the harder we struggled, the more the comrades rose to the occasion. August 25 was a big success, both the march and the banquet. We got over 125 auto workers and WSU students to sign "Pledge Cards" for the march. Everybody at the plants knew the march was happening and what it was for. Seven workers from the plants attended, spoke, and were on security for the march.**

## LESSONS OF THE PROJECT

First of all, there are literally tens of thousands of auto workers open to our line right now. There is a basic understanding that there is a war coming, and a real awareness of the increase in racism. One problem is that most workers don't connect the two right now and have only a small understanding of the connection between fascism and war. The good part is they want to know more! At any given plant distribution, we might give out 1000-1500 leaflets. **None** would be left lying on the ground. Many workers would not sign the petition when we were opportunist about it, saying "stop the sellout" or some other dribble. But when we told them to sign the petition to build an anti-racist movement inside the UAW, their eyes lit up. It got to the point, very rapidly, where workers would either take our literature, or refuse to take our literature, based on their outlook towards fighting racism, the threat of war and fascism, and how they viewed their union leadership. There wasn't anyone who didn't know what we were saying. That was very good.

Hatred of the fascists runs far and deep into the heart of the auto plants. Two of the best responses we got were just before Wheeling, when we issued a leaflet entitled "Crush the Klan." Workers read it as they walked, came out for more, stopped talking to their friends to read it, and so on. Then, after the shootings in Tupelo (see article in this issue), we issued another leaflet along with a Tupelo Solidarity Letter, which we asked workers to sign and give money for. The response was overwhelmingly positive. Workers we didn't know, who never signed our petition, signed the letter and were giving us dollar bills at 5:00 a.m. at a factory gate. We must bust our asses to win workers to view Fraser and Co. with that same contempt and hatred. We made some modest advances this summer.

The call for multi-racial unity to fight racism, fascism and war is right on the money. Nationalism is a dead end and no one knows it better than auto workers. The call for multi-racial unity and fighting racism as a class question gives us the highest respect among the workers.

We also found that the worker-student alliance works. We took a relatively small number of students and teachers, mostly white, and sent them to win auto workers, mostly black. Although we might have underestimated some of the anti-working class bias that holds us back from doing more vigorous base building and follow up, the idea of worker-student unity in this project was very successful.

In fact, when workers were told that they were being visited by students from out of town, who had chosen to spend their summer break winning auto workers to this movement, they tended to take the whole question a lot more seriously. At no point did anyone but our enemies try to create a division between workers and students.

The project showed that outside concentration works. The key word here is **concentration**. We often tend to focus on outside. The summer Project taught us all a lesson in what it means to develop a plant concentration, and this should help the auto work wherever the Project

**We once again have a base in Auto in Detroit.**

workers went home to. We have no reason at all to feel timid or to bait ourselves about going **to** the plants in order to get **into** the plants. Especially now, with the economy in a shambles, and the auto industry leading the collapse, our chances for sending people into auto will be few and far between. Our main shot is to win workers already inside. You can't do that by going out once a week, or once every two weeks. Every area should begin making serious concentration plans around the auto plant in their city, which should involve as many comrades and friends as possible. The larger the presence, the larger the returns.

As we pointed out in the "Anti-Nuke" editorial (**PL**, Fall 1979), the revisionists are in fact doing the leg work for the social-fascists and are leading workers to fascism. This became crystal clear through their total unity with

*The militancy and determination of auto workers under communist leadership has long roots. These workers, armed with staves, came from all over Michigan and Ohio in support of the 1936-37 Flint strikers who organized the UAW.*

Fraser and the UAW leadership throughout the whole contract "struggle," never breaking with them on any point, and most of all, never talking in any terms other than the most basic, reformist dribble. No war, no fascism, no racism, no nothing. That's good. Workers could see a clear difference between us and them. Probably the most graphic display of this phenomenon was at a UAW-called demonstration to "Save Dodge Main." This was their third such rally, and by then it was clear that they had no intention of saving anything except Chrysler's ass. A rally that drew 3,000 in June, now could not draw more than 300. What we saw said it all, as every revisionist in the city, with the usual gaggle of Trotskyites, marched with banners and newspapers, and leaflets, behind the UAW social-fascist leadership, who marched behind a car pulling a trailer holding a UAW retiree marching band, playing **Solidarity Forever!**

We ended the Project with 50 new InCAR members, having sold over 1800 **Challenges** in the city, with over 1200 signatures on the InCAR auto petition, and none the worse for wear. In fact, we ended with a stronger organization in Detroit than we have ever had. Over twenty of the new members are in auto. The Project enabled us to "squeeze the sponge" of subjectivity ever so slightly, and we are much stronger for it. We are in a position now that is better than we were in before the coal miners strike. **We once again have a base in Auto in Detroit.** It will take twice as much effort to consolidate it, but the situation is ripe, the workers are open, and the Detroit Party is ready to go.

## POST SCRIPT TO THE SUMMER PROJECT

**At Chevy Gear and Axle, less than half of the workers voted on the contract, and one-third of those who did voted NO!**

**At Chrysler Lynch Road, the company laid off over 2,000 workers with as much as ten years seniority—the whole second shift. Before the workers left, they spent the last week on the job engaged in mass sabotage against the racist auto bosses, costing Chrysler millions by turning new cars into scrap metal.**

**At Ford Rouge, two supervisors recently donned a white hat with KKK written on it and paraded down the line. Six workers walked off. In two days, over 1000 workers signed a petition demanding the foremen be fired and the workers not be disciplined. The good aspect is that there is a mass, multi-racial base against the fascists inside. The bad part is that unless we win the leadership of these workers, by consolidating our contacts made over the summer, this will be turned into its opposite.**

By S.P.

*You Can't Buy Revolution*

# Marxism and Material Incentives

One of the bigger lies the bourgeoisie pushes about socialism is, "Socialism will never work because there will be no reward for hard work, so everyone will goof off"—as if there were any reward for hard work under capitalism, where garment workers average under $90 a week while Jackie Kennedy rolls in her millions. There has been much debate in the international communist movement about the question of **incentives** under socialism. Revolutionaries say that socialism will be based on the collective incentive of transforming society to eliminate classes and to end poverty—a policy which is badly misnamed "moral incentives," as if ending exploitation and war were only moral goals. Others claim that socialism will have to use the same incentives as capitalism; that is, high pay for each individual who works hard ("material incentives"). This latter view is the view of revisionists—right-wingers who consider themselves socialists but whose actions show that they think revolutionary change is unnecessary or impossible. For instance, when our ex-comrades in the Canadian Party of Labour (CPL) began to abandon revolutionary communism, they wrote a series of articles glorifying material incentives. In this article, we explore the question of incentives under socialism drawing upon the experiences—both positive and negative—of the Bolshevik Revolution.

In order to understand the Bolsheviks' attitude towards incentives, we have to place it within the context of the Bolsheviks' strategy in developing the dictatorship of the

proletariat. This strategy included a policy of seeking rapid industrial development using material incentives and various other concessions to peasants, technicians, and so forth, as well as relying on the political understanding of the workers. The Soviet working class and its allies needed this policy in order to prepare for war, to ensure adequate food supplies for the cities, and to provide an expanding level of material well-being. Yet this policy ran considerable risks, as the Bolsheviks noted at the time. The policy provided considerable room for maneuver for the former capitalists and other enemies of the working class.

In the Critique of the Gotha Programme, Marx himself laid the basis for the Bolshevik policy of material incentives. Marx said that although bourgeois exploitation (private ownership of the means of production) would be eliminated under the dictatorship of the proletariat, wage differentials and hence some inequalities would persist:

> What we have to deal with here is a communist society; not as it has developed on its own foundations, but, on the contrary, just as it emerges from capitalist society; which is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birth marks of the old society from whose womb it emerges... Here obviously the same principle prevails as that which regulates the exchange of commodities, as far as this is exchange of equal values. Content and form are changed, because under the altered circumstances no one can give anything except his labour, and because, on the other hand, nothing can pass to the ownership of individuals except individual means of consumption. But, as far as the distribution of the latter among the individual producers is concerned, the same principle prevails as in the exchange of commodity equivalents; a given amount of labor in one form is exchanged for an equal amount of labor in another form.
>
> Hence, **equal right** here is still in principle—**bourgeois right** although principle and practice are no longer at loggerheads... This **equal** right is an unequal right for unequal labor. It recognizes no class differences because everyone is only a worker like everyone else; but it tacitly recognizes unequal individual endowment and thus productive capacity as natural privileges. **It is, therefore a right of inequality, in its content, like every right.***

The proletarian revolution itself—the overthrow of the exploiters—was a first step toward the communist abolition of classes. But Marx had warned that wage differentials, necessary though they might be for the first stage of communism, were an aspect of bourgeois right which persisted under socialism. A policy of simply developing these inequalities and relying on them to "grow into communism" would be like simple reformism under capitalism—it would lead to capitalist restoration. As early as his writings on the Paris Commune, Marx depicted the potential turbulence and protracted class struggle involved in maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat.

> The communal organization once firmly established on a national scale, the catastrophes it might still have to undergo, would be sporadic **slaveholders insurrections,** which, while for a moment interrupting the work of peaceful progress, would only accelerate the movement, by putting the sword into the hand of the social Revolution.
>
> The working class know that they have to pass through different phases of class struggle. They know that the superseding of the economical conditions of the slavery of labor by the conditions of free and associated labor can only be the progressive work of time, that they require not only a change of distribution, but **a new organization of production** or rather the delivery (setting free) of the social forms of production in present organized labor... They know that this work of regeneration will be again and again relented and impeded by the resistance of vested interests and class egotisms.**

*Marx and Engels, Selected Works, 11, 23-24

**Draper, ed., Marx and Engels Writings on the Commune, from the first draft for the address to the International Workingman's Association on the Civil War in France, pp 154-5.

In the **Manifesto**, Marx had argued that within the "movement of the present" (trade union struggle or democratic revolution, or under socialism, the continued, though modified, existence of bourgeois right—wage differentials—in production), the communists must defend the "future" of the movement, revolutionary politics. Before the revolution, this meant fighting for internationalism and a Paris Commune-type state; afterwards, in addition to these two points, communists would have to lead the struggle for political understanding of the main contradiction in each stage of the continuing class struggle, including war, and direct the movement forward, within the limits of the possible, in mobilizing working class leadership to break down the division between manual and mental labor and to develop greater and greater understanding among the workers and their allies of the possibility and necessity of a transition to communism. Not reform (and this includes material incentives under socialism) but revolutionary working class politics would have to be the primary aspect of each stage of development.

In analyzing the Commune, Marx had argued that the proletarian state must be composed of the armed workers themselves and that officials should have no aura of bourgeois superiority, but, as workers themselves should be paid only the wages of skilled workmen. He spoke of the Commune:

> Doing away with the state hierarchy altogether and replacing the haughty masters of the people with always removable servants, a mock responsibility by a real responsibility, as they act continuously under public supervision. The whole sham of state-mysteries and state-pretensions was done away with by a Commune, mostly consisting of simple working men, organizing the defense of Paris, carrying the war against the praetorians of Bonaparte, securing the approvisionment of that immense town, filling all the posts hitherto divided between the Government, police, and Prefecture, doing their work publicly, simply, under the most difficult and complicated circumstances, and doing it... for a few points, acting in broad daylight, with no pretentions to infallibility, not ashamed to confess blunders by correcting them. Making in one order the public functions—military, administrative and political—**real workmen's functions . . .***

In other words, revolutionary politics, the direct leadership of the workers in running the state, for no special material privilege, but based only on their understanding of their class interests and not on "material incentives," was the hallmark of Marx's approach to the dictatorship of the proletariat. This expression of class interest, consistent with a rapidly rising material standard of well-being for the working class **as a whole,** is also present in all acts of internationalism. It is not, as some revisionist critics have called it, "hairshirt, bed of nails" socialism. What must be primary is serving the working class, not self in the narrow individualist sense.

## THE BOLSHEVIKS AND MATERIAL INCENTIVES

In the Soviet Union, the Bolsheviks made many concessions beyond wage differentials to secure the aid of intellectuals, technicians and the peasantry in constructing socialism: the New Economic Policy of private trade in agriculture, high salaries for technicians and managers, one-man management in the factories, and so on. If the Soviet strategy had been restricted to this (and some like Bukharin with his thesis of the rich peasants "growing peacefully into socialism" wanted to restrict it), the dictatorship of the proletariat would have been quickly undermined in Russia. Following Marx's analysis of the Commune, however, Lenin and Stalin had transformed the Bolsheviks into a party of the working class based in the factories before the revolution; in the early '20s, they strengthened this proletarian composition by weeding out and purging opportunists, mainly among the intellectuals** and recruiting 250,000 workers

*Same, 163.

**In 1924, Stalin spoke of a number of government officials who were party members sweating it because "some chauffeur"—that is working class party members—were going to put them through the purge. It was good, Stalin said, that such people—those who were reactionary—would be made to feel the presence of their master, the working class, and swept out of the party.

from the point of production (elected by their fellow workers) in the 1924 Lenin enrollment. Following the policy of the Commune for party members, no Bolshevik in the '20s could earn a salary above the party maximum, the wage of a skilled worker. The rest had to be given to the party. Thus, the party grasped the need for the working class leading socialist industrialization; technicians, if they joined the party (and few were allowed in) had to give up any income above that of a skilled worker, rather than proving a leading force for seeking "a little more for oneself." The party and the masses whom it influenced made maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat primary.

Whatever mistakes may have been made in granting concessions or using material incentives in the society at large, the Bolsheviks blazed a continual path to the left politically, placing the working class and revolution, not reform and bourgeois conceptions of "self" in the predominant position.

The Stakhanovite campaign must be analyzed from the point of view of the relationship between the specific problems (the main contradiction) the Soviet Union faced in the 1930s, and the struggle to make revolution primary over reform in the course of socialist construction. The party leadership recognized from the outset of the revolution that the imperialists would inevitably attack socialism at some point. The triumph of the Nazis in Germany placed the most barbarous form of capitalist onslaught upon socialism on the agenda. In this situation, the Bolshevik leadership stressed the need for rapid development of Soviet heavy industry and preparation for war. Soviet strategy for World War II would rely mainly on mobilizing the masses for people's war, but the artillery, tanks and planes produced by Soviet industry were also vital. Under the influence of absolute egalitarianism, Tomsky, the leader of the trade unions, and others argued for slow economic growth and wage equalization throughout the society. In defeating this argument politically, Stalin and others emphasized the need to mobilize the workers for vigorous efforts in socialist construction to prepare for war.* They also wrongly, as we shall see, stressed the use of wage differentials not only in the working class as a whole, but also in the party itself. Thus, while primarily furthering a left political thrust of preparing to deal with the Nazis, they also seriously undercut the political understanding of the party and its base.

*Stalin, Mastering Bolshevism.

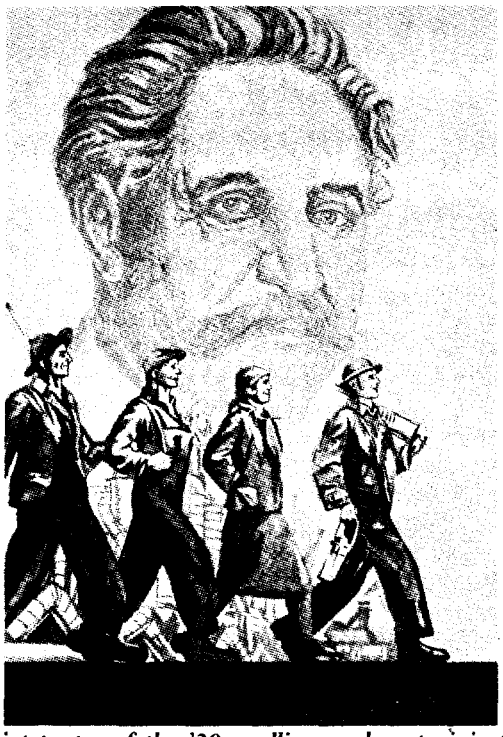
### STAKHANOVISM: WORKERS TAKE CHARGE OF PRODUCTION

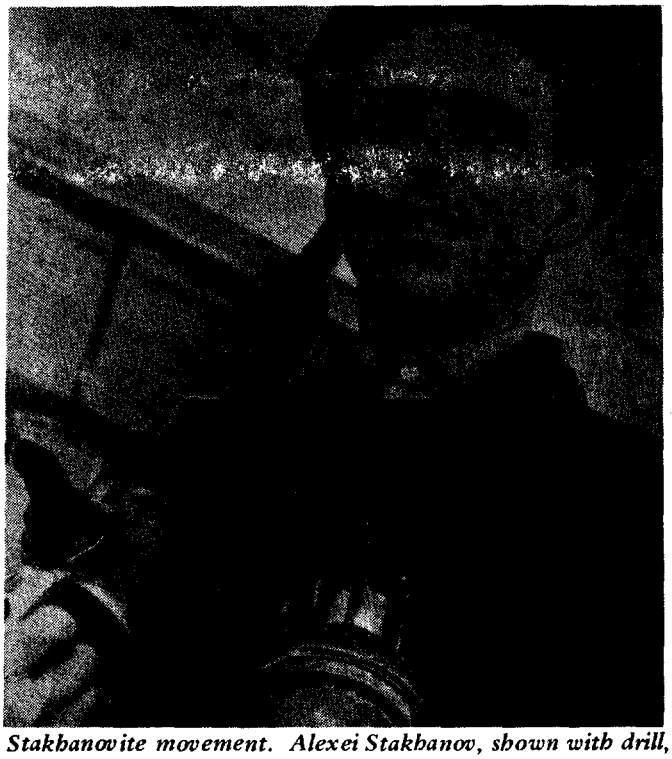
The policy of Stakhanovism itself was originally a strong movement to the left. Stakhanovism derived from the initiative of the workers themselves to institute collectively new methods of production, and boost output, especially in heavy industry, to prepare for war. The Soviets hailed not bourgeois innovators or technocrats but workers themselves who initiated the reorganization of the production process. Stakhanovism proved

## Stakhanovism: a major step in breaking down the division between mental and manual

that the working class, not "experts," were the driving force for innovation in production, and took a major step in breaking down the division of mental and manual labor. Thus, it pointed toward communism. As described by the English communist economist Maurice Dobb:

> **It (the Stakhanov movement) was an emphasis on rationalizing working methods or technique and not on greater effort on the worker's part as previous campaigns of shock-brigades and socialist competition had very largely been. It showed a concern with quality, and not an attention to quantity alone.** It was a product of thought and not merely of good intentions —moreover, of thought about his job from what for most workers was an entirely new angle. Stakhanov's innovation at the Irmino mine in the Ukraine involved a





*Soviet poster of the '30s, calling workers to join the Stakhanovite movement. Alexei Stakhanov, shown with drill, led his fellow coal miners in reorganizing production, based on their experience, rather than on "expert" theories.*

simple principle: a separation of the two processes of coal-cutting and the propping of the workings, which obviated the need for each hewer to change frequently from one operation to another and enable the picks and mechanical drills to be continuously utilized throughout the shift... The new method enabled a team of Stakhanov and two timberers working with a mechanical drill to attain the remarkable output of 102 tons in a shift of five and three quarter hours, and subsequently even higher figures... The achievement of the pioneer (which Stakhanov tells us first met with skepticism even from other workers in his own mind) quickly found imitators in other industries... Evdokia Vinogradova and her fellow worker of the same name introduced a new system of team work in the minding of Northrop automatic looms, and with nine unskilled assistants, managed as many as 220 looms; thereby attaining a per head output 50% higher than the best Lancashire or New England figure... Marie Demchenko in agriculture (sugar beet production), workers on Marten ovens at Makeyevka, workers in a vegetable cannery, miners in Siberia followed with comparable achievements... in the Gorki motor works, the production-time for making a valve was reduced by 20% and of pistons by 40% on that which operated in the Ford works in America.*

Stalin spoke of this movement as part of "a radical revolution in men's view of labor, transforming labor from an unworthy and painful burden, as it was formerly considered, into a matter of honor, a matter of glory, a matter of valor and of heroism."**

Stakhanovism emphasized teamwork and permanent improvements in production through utilizing methods which could easily be emulated by other groups of workers; in addition, advanced workers helped slower workers to develop better methods. Accompanied by vast programs of technical training and upgrading (700,000 workers were involved in such programs in 1936, the Stakhanov movement enlisted a sizable portion of the working class as innovators. By August, 1936, little more than a year after the movement began, 70-80% of the workers

*Maurice Dobb, Soviet Economic Development Since 1917, pp 429-430.
**Dobb, 425.

in heavy industry were able to meet the new production norms; Stakhanovism became a huge mass movement to develop the collective initiative of the workers themselves to reorganize and improve the processes of production in which they were involved. In addition, some Stakhanovites participated in the subbotnik movement, giving a free (6th) day's labor per week to further socialist industrialization and prepare for war. This movement was led by younger workers, the bulk of whom were not in the Bolshevik party.* Here Marx's early dictum in the **Poverty of Philosophy**, "the greatest productive power is the revolutionary class itself" was clearly in evidence; the results, in terms of production, were dramatic.

This movement was not mainly an attempt to develop an "aristocracy of labor," but to involve the workers more deeply in socialist construction.

In the West, the bourgeoisie and Trotskyists attacked Stakhanovism as "speed up." But in fact, as an English miners' report of 1937 shows, the length of the work day in Russia remained 7 hours. Only in 1940, after the Nazi conquest of France, did the Soviets go on an 8 hour day to prepare for war.

Thus it may be seen that Stakhanovism was a program to improve the collective efforts of the workers through reorganizing production, and not to speed up individuals through getting "stars" or management experts to set unreal quotas. This collective effort of the working class represented a threat to factory managers, particularly hangers-on of bourgeois origin and their allies, and the Stakhanov movement was attacked by them. The threat of Stakhanovism to these elements is clear—if the working class was able not only to carry on, but to reorganize and improve production, what justification could there be to continue pay incentives and other concessions for "expert" managers and technicians doing the same job? Indeed, that managers and foremen should still have been paid more in the early '30s (and this was reinstated in 1940), seems a very bad policy, and suggests the continued prevalence of non-party bourgeois forces in the leadership of the factories. Stakhanovism countered this to a considerable extent.

## STAKHANOVISM AND MATERIAL INCENTIVES

The other aspect of the Stakhanov movement was the use of material incentives. The English Miners' report emphasized this aspect:

> We found, owing to this intensive piece system, sometimes a great disparity between the wages of the Stakhanovites and other unskilled labor. We have great disparity in our own countries between the wages of the skilled workers and the so-called unskilled workers...but it is nothing like the disparity we came across in the Soviet pits. Often the amount is five or six times higher, and in one case, ten times higher than some of the other workers. Then the Stakhanovite has other privileges. He can buy better food and clothing and other household utensils. He is the first to be considered for cultural and educative facilities, and all other things being equal, he is given preference in housing accommodation and so on. All this is according to the law 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his labor.'

Thus the party (with whom the English miners concurred) placed the emphasis with non-party workers heavily on material incentives. Though this emphasis did not immediately override the political impetus of the movement, it weakened its thrust to the left. Why should party workers and their allies have taken 10 times the wages of other workers, let alone shopped in special stores? Some of the use of material incentives (paying workers more who held harder jobs in heavy industry like coal mining, or would move to new industrial regions) was more defensible, than emphasizing all-out striving for higher pay for individuals.** Yet the party increasingly emphasized the latter aspect. The policy itself, by the way, did not even fully go along with this ideological emphasis on the use of material incentives, with the readjustment of norms of pay after the new processes had been assimilated.

> Many Stakhanovites suffered a reduction of earning on the high levels at which they had been earn-

*Dobb, 441, 434-6.

**Dobb, 443.

> ing for the first few months following their achievements, although they continued to benefit substantially as compared with their original position. At the same time, an energetic campaign . . . was launched to afford opportunities for these slower or less-trained workers to attain to the new standards. In fact the situation we find, so far from being one where attempts are made to perpetuate the differential privileges of a better-paid minority, is the precise opposite.*

We should look more closely at this development. In a movement with a primarily political thrust, led by the party, some use of material incentives to encourage the efforts of workers who were more backward politically might well have been necessary. There would, however, have been a continuous tension between motivation through material incentives ("getting more for oneself"), and the party's efforts to win the masses to the political outlook of boosting production to prepare for war, uniting mental and manual labor to revolutionize the production process, etc. The party should have determined the balance between political outlook and material incentives in life—through striving both to reorganize and increase production, and to win other workers away from the primacy of material incentives and to join the party. Instead the party dealt with the situation as if, by the "invisible hand" of Adam Smith, material incentives and striving for self would somehow lead to the public interest: **socialist** construction. Due to important changes in policy by the Soviet party, the tensions between revolutionary politics (the future of the movement) and material incentives were very much played down. As the 1937 Leningrad institute **Textbook on Philosophy** put it.

> This "mutual penetration" (of opposites) is manifested in the form of piece work, the insistence on differential wages according to the quality and quantity of the work done, the bonus system, diplomas and other awards for exceptionally good work and other forms of encouragement designed to enlist all the powers of the individual in the service of society.**

Thus they reduced the real contradiction between material incentives and working class politics to selfish passions leading somehow to their opposite, the common good.

This **misinterpretation** of Stakhanovism derived from a weakening of the revolutionary aspect of the Bolshevik party's line in order to further industrialization. In the mid 30s, the Bolsheviks reintroduced wage differentials within the party itself. They recruited more technicians and other intellectuals, not on the basis of giving up their privileges, but of maintaining and developing them, thus influencing working class party members and leaders in this direction. With the triumph of collectivization, Stalin developed the erroneous theory that internal class struggle had disappeared in the Soviet Union. Stalin fought the efforts of the bourgeoisie and the technocrats to restore capitalism—the "purge trials" were a militant example of this—but saw the threat as coming from "hangers-on" who had become "spies" and "wreckers" serving **external** powers. This led him to misestimate the character of a danger that was in reality primarily **internal**.

The concept that the danger to the Soviet Union was primarily external and that internal class struggle had ended, opened the door to a revival of Russian nationalism and Soviet patriotism that helped provide a cover for the efforts of the bourgeoisie and reactionary intelligentsia to develop concern for self and material incentives rather than concern for class and revolutionary politics among workers. This they did under the heading of mobilizing "necessary technical skills" to further the industrialization of the "Russian nation." This nationalist revival is reflected in, and was spread by, the Soviet films of the '30s, such as **Peter the Great** and **Alexander Nevsky**, which show "good Tsars" leading the peasants into battle for the "motherland." In fact, these films built Soviet patriotism against the Germans, and it was around this line that the Soviet workers were mobilized politically for World War II.

As the Bolsheviks were still primarily a working-class party, and continued to lead the efforts to develop worker initiative in socialist construction, this aspect

*Dobb, 441-2.

**Leningrad Textbook on Philosophy, 167.

*Millions of Soviet workers gave extra days of volunteer labor to help build Soviet industry, beginning with the first Five Year Plan. Their incentive was the benefit to the working class as a whole, and the strength of the Soviet Union.*

of the line did not take its full toll until later. After World War II, however, a degeneration set in, resulting in 1956 in the triumph of Khrushchev and the new bourgeoisie. Over that period of time, the line of material incentives over revolutionary politics had become primary.

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF MARXISM-LENINISM

Marxism-Leninism has always progressed through developing theory and strategy, testing it in practice, seeing how it takes hold among the masses, and evaluating its strengths and weaknesses. There is no "law" or "orthodoxy" in Marxism which proposes that one must hold on to errors that the great leaders of the movement once made. Instead, the main point is to learn from and strengthen what is revolutionary in previous experience, and to criticize and repudiate the errors. Now we have the completed experience of the reversal of socialism in the USSR and its emergence as the main imperialist power in mortal rivalry with the U.S. Some mishandling of the contradiction between reformism (material incentives) and revolution (politics in command) must be at the root of this reversal. The work of Lenin, Stalin and the Bolsheviks —despite their great achievements— must be examined for this error, and we must strive to understand it. An error that would have been understandable for Lenin, a great revolutionary, in the first experiment of building the dictatorship of the proletariat would be farcical and tragic for us to commit again today.

Marxism-Leninism has always advanced by relying on the masses, making breakthroughs in developing revolutionary politics over reforms, and discarding inadequate and ultimately reactionary economic determinist formulations. In 1905, Lenin held that a revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants in Russia, though the most radical possibility at the time, could carry out only a democratic revolution coinciding with the continued existence and development of capitalism (see for example, "**Two Tactics of Social Democracy**"). In 1917, with the new situation created by inter-imperialist rivalry exploding in the first world war and the emergence of mass soviets among the Russian workers, peasants and soldiers, Lenin made a new estimate and decided that a dictatorship of the proletariat was already quite possible in Russia. Should we discard the Lenin of 1917 for the more economic determ-

inist Lenin of 1905?

Lenin and others saw the Russian Revolution as triggering a world revolution (or at least revolution in Germany). When the latter was defeated, Stalin formulated the theory of socialism in one country—that the Bolsheviks, relying on the workers and peasants in Russia, could force socialism and that "economic backwardness" was not an insurmountable obstacle. Trotsky, Kamenev and Zinoviev, on the other hand, all squealed that socialism was impossible in Russia "due to an inadequate development of the productive forces," that capitalism would have to be reintroduced internally, massive foreign investment tolerated and that all the party's policies were bound to fail. They cited as evidence the secondary, economic determinist, strain in Lenin's analysis—a position that Lenin had long since corrected. Should Stalin be condemned as a revisionist for moving forward, or should we return with Trotsky and Co. to the formulations of 1905?

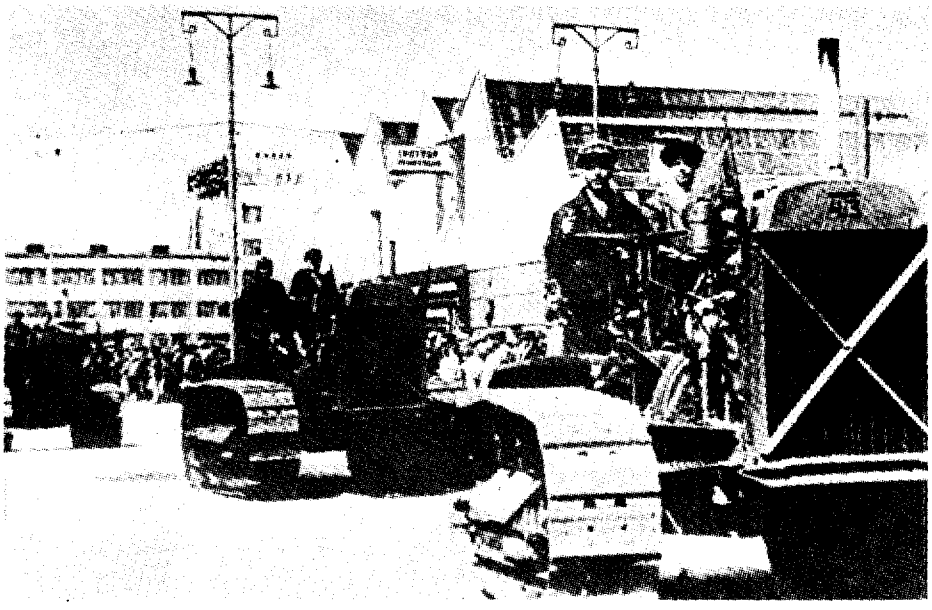
**The dictatorship of the proletariat must be the primary incentive for our class.**

In China, in the Great Leap Forward and in the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, steps toward new production relationships in agriculture were initiated by Chinese peasants, mainly agricultural laborers. They criticized the all-out use of material incentives and the notion that remnants of bourgeois equality (to each according to his work) and wage differentials should be systematized and developed. In this, and in their efforts to develop the Shanghai Commune, a Paris-commune type of state, Chinese workers in the cities and countryside emulated the Parisian workers whose Commune Marx hailed as the "political form at last discovered in which to work out the economic emancipation of all labor."

Let us examine the Great Leap Forward more closely. In doing so, it is far better to speak in terms of "making revolutionary politics primary" or of "political work as the lifeline of all work" than to speak in terms of "political incentives." The concept of political incentives is infected with revisionism, because it makes incentive to production (material or political) the primary element in understanding the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is different from the true point—that the new social relations that develop under the dictatorship of the proletariat will lead to rapid increases in production. The primary aspect of the Great Leap was fighting to break down the division of mental and manual labor. This corresponds to the left aspect of Stakhanovism—to break down the division between city and country, and to introduce some aspects of communist distribution under socialism.

The "failure" of the Great Leap Forward was essentially a **political** failure of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. They substituted absurd and incredible expectations about immediate increases in production for the struggle called for by these mass left developments, initiated by the agricultural laborers and rural cadre. The phasing out of material incentives (private plots, wage differentials, etc.) that was proposed called for study and evaluation to see how far it would work. This study would have followed the revolutionary trend in Marxism, learning on the basis of mass practice, not abstract economic determinist principles. How far to the left this movement could have gone, and how fast, would have been properly determined in this way. However, the leadership of the CCP, with its inflated output goals, ignored dialectics; ignored the fact that for new relations of production to take full effect and produce a qualitative leap, a period of quantitative development—perhaps a long one—must take place. When the hoped-for leap did not take place and the goals were not met, the CCP leadership attacked the entire movement, thus joining U.S. Sinologists and the Soviet revisionists who had denounced the movement from the start. This economic determinist understanding infected both the "left" and "right" in the CCP leadership, and led to the reversal of much of the gains of the movement. The situation was similar

*Soviet workers use horse-drawn trucks and tractors to lay the foundations of Chelyabinsk tractor works early in the First Five Year Plan*



*By 1933, when Chelyabinsk reached full production of tractors, Soviet industry had been transformed.*

in the attacks on the Shanghai Commune.

Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the working class will certainly want to produce more and achieve all-around better conditions for itself and its allies, but not under the capitalist slogan of "work hard and you'll get ahead." The thrust of the dictatorship of the proletariat is to rely on the political initiative of the workers—our **class** understanding—to reorganize and develop production, to break down the old divisions between mental and manual labor, city and country, etc., and to conduct the class struggle and war against our enemies. Our line will not be more money for oneself, not living high off the hog as an individual. Our goal will be revolutionary understanding and enough to live at the rapidly expanding level of material development which our class will achieve under socialism. Winning and furthering the dictatorship of the proletariat, not gaining special privileges, must be the primary motivation of our Party and our class.

*"MILLIONS STAND BEHIND ME!"*

*This illustration, as well as those on pages 67 and 68, are by John Heartfield, a German communist and inventor of photomontage.*

By I.K.

*Book Review*

# Who Financed Hitler?

The revival of the Ku Klux Klan and other fascist groups has spurred an interest in the sources of financing of contemporary fascism. While it is clear to many people that the Klan and others of their ilk aid the big businessmen who rule the U.S. by attempting to set one part of the working class against another, many are hesitant to believe that this country's top capitalists might finance the small and relatively ineffectual (but highly dangerous) avowedly racist groups.

A recently published work by James and Suzanne Pool entitled **Who Financed Hitler**—shows that such backing has occurred in the past. From its very inception, Hitler's Nazis were financed by the bourgeoisie and, increasingly as the years of inflation, depression and the threat of Communist-led revolution wore on, by more and more powerful elements of big business. As the authors make clear at the outset, great amounts of money enabled the Nazis to establish racist politics as a viable force in Germany:

> By continuous propaganda, even the greatest untruth will be believed by some people. There were anti-Semites in Germany long before Hitler, but they belonged to small splinter parties that were ineffective because of their endless squabbling. Large donations provided Hitler with the needed tools to organize these fringe elements and turn them into a major political force. (p 2)

The founder, protector and initial financial sponsor of the Nazis was the Thule Society, described as "... the most

powerful secret organization in Germany... Among the groups' members, immediately after World War I, were lawyers, judges, university professors, police officials, aristocrats, leading industrialists, surgeons, physicians, as well as rich businessmen..." (p 7). The symbol of the Thule Society was the swastika and the authors describe it thusly:

> Like many other **volkisch** (racial, nationalist) movements in Germany, the ostensible objective of the Thule Society was the establishment of a Pan-German state of unsurpassed power and grandeur. There were also mystical aspects to the association involving bardic rituals and occult ceremonies. On the practical, political level, the society espoused German racial superiority, anti-Semitism and violent anti-Communism... Unlike most other conservative nationalists, the Thule Society was aware of the danger presented by the widening gap between the officer class and the workers. It became one of the society's primary objectives to bring the working man back into the nationalist camp. (pp 8-9)

To accomplish this last-mentioned aim, the Thule Society picked on an obscure racist worker, Anton Drexler, to found the Nazis. Hitler entered the Nazi Party initially as an agent of the German Army, whose protection he received. He basically engineered its emergence from obscurity by stressing the need to "court publicity." The Nazis first advertised in and later bought the Thule Society newspaper, the **Volkischer Beobachter** ("The Pure Germans' Observer"), with money supplied by a leading Bavarian capitalist, Gottfried Grandel.

The connections between the Army, the cops in Munich, where the Nazis got their start, and the Thule Society were strong. The latter financed a 2000-man armed unit of the Freikorps, the paramilitary, counter-revolutionary veterans organization, called "Freikorps Oberland." This same unit received money from Fritz Thyssen, chairman of the board of the Vereinigte Stahlwerke, the largest German steel combine. Thyssen, who "wanted law and order at any price" became an early backer and then member of the Nazis. After 1929, he was to supply Hitler with "plenty of money" which he claimed put the Nazis "a little more in my hands."

The Army also backed Hitler's group financially, funneling money through its propaganda officer, Captain Ernst Rohm. In exchange, Rohm became head of Hitler's army of thugs, the S.A. These goons were protected by the chief of police of Munich, who was a member of the Thule Society. Not to be outdone, Naval Intelligence also helped Hitler financially. Admiral Schroder was an early Nazi and even von Seeckt, the Supreme Commander of the armed forces met with Hitler in 1923 and later said, "We were one in our aim, only our paths were different."

Even in the first years of the Nazis, Hitler attracted many aristocratic and capitalist backers, like Emil Gansser, an executive of Siemens and Halske, the huge electrical trust. Hitler's original mass base was primarily among small businessmen, but in 1921 Gansser introduced Hitler to the big bourgeoisie at their National Club in Berlin (p. 25). Two years later he spoke before a similar assemblage of bosses at the Herren ("Bosses") Club in Munich.

The interest in the Nazis displayed by some capitalists was also reflected in the government. The German Foreign Office, hoping to aid in the crushing of the Russian Revolution financed the various anti-Bolshevik, racist organizations of exiled "White Russians." These, in turn, passed on money to Hitler. After Hitler, together with the second-ranking World War I German general, von Ludendorf, attempted a coup in Bavaria, he was briefly (although comfortably) imprisoned. Certain politicians called for Hitler's deportation to his native Austria, but **the ruling Social Democrats, who dominated Germany's unions, came to Hitler's aid and prevented the deportation. The Social Democrats were always to regard Hitler as a better alternative than the Communists who struggled for working-class power.**

German capitalists and pseudo-leftists were not Hitler's only early aids. The most outstanding foreign backer of the Nazis was the U.S.'s most outstanding industrial exploiter, Henry Ford. In 1920 Ford launched a series of vituperative anti-Semitic articles in his racist company town newspaper, the **Dearborn Independent**, the first of which, on May 22, 1920, began:

> There is a race, a part of humanity which has never been received as a welcome part. This

> people has ever been fouling the earth and planning to dominate it. In order to eventually rule the Gentiles, the Jews have long been conspiring to form an international super-capitalist government. (p. 87)

U.S. auto manufacturing's "super-capitalist" thus attacks a group mainly composed of workers for being "super-capitalists"! Such a "Big Lie" is in no way different from present day lies about minority workers being criminals that are spread by the ruling class, which itself gains its wealth not by work but by systematized murder and thievery.

Ford made a deep impression on the Nazis. Hitler put a large portrait of Ford above his desk in the Nazi headquarters. The Hitler Youth leader, von Schirach, stated at his war crimes trial in 1946 that it was Ford's book, **The International Jew**, that made him an anti-Semite. When Hitler thought at one point that Ford might run for the U.S. Presidency, he termed "Heinrich" Ford the leader of U.S. fascism and offered to send Storm Troopers to campaign for Ford. Hitler massively distributed translations of Ford's racist babblings throughout Germany and himself adopted many of Ford's ideas straight out:

> Not only did Hitler especially praise Henry Ford in **Mein Kampf**, but many of Hitler's ideas were also a direct reflection of Ford's racist philosophy. There is a great similarity between Hitler's **Mein Kampf** and some passages are so identical that it has been said that Hitler copied directly from Ford's publication... There can be no doubt as to the influence of Henry Ford's ideas on Hitler. (p. 91)

The similarity of the ideas of Ford and the Nazis also helped Hitler garner support among German capitalists:

> In the early twenties, when Hitler was still an obscure agitator, his charges... were taken seriously by many people who would have ignored them if Ford's publications had not stated the very same arguments... The fact that Henry Ford, the leading American industrialist, condemned democracy as strongly as Hitler must have been seen by some German businessmen as an indication that America would have no fundamental objection to Germany becoming an authoritarian state. (pp 103-4)

Ford did not provide Hitler with only ideas. He gave cash, as did other U.S. capitalists:

> "That Henry Ford... gave money to the Nazis directly or indirectly has never been disputed," said Konrad Heiden, one of the first biographers of Hitler. Novelist Upton Sinclair wrote in **The Flivver King**, a book about Ford, that the Nazis got forty thousand dollars from Ford to reprint anti-Jewish pamphlets in German translation and an additional $300,000 was later sent to Hitler ...The U.S. ambassador to Germany, William E. Dodd, said in an interview that "certain American industrialists had a great deal to do with bringing fascist regimes into being in both Germany and Italy..."(p 111)

**Hitler's ideas were a direct reflection of Henry Ford's racist philosophy.**

The Nazis kept this immense aid (worth then at least ten times what it would be worth now) a secret, for "If the German people found out that Hitler was financed by Ford, he would have been accused of being the puppet of a foreign capitalist"; the latter, of course, being frequent targets of Hitler's demagogic rantings. Actually, Ford turned over to Hitler some money derived directly from the sale of his autos in Germany and funneled other money through the White Russians. Hitler did not forget his old fellow racist after Hitler achieved power. In 1938, Hitler presented Ford with the Grand Cross of the Supreme Order of the German Eagle, the highest decoration that could be given to any non-German

citizen. Ford was only the fourth person to receive it, the last one having been Mussolini. Jews in the U.S. and elsewhere reacted angrily to Ford's Nazism. Boycotts of Fords were organized and the entertainer Eddie Cantor put it well when he said, "The more men like Ford that we have, the more we must organize and fight."

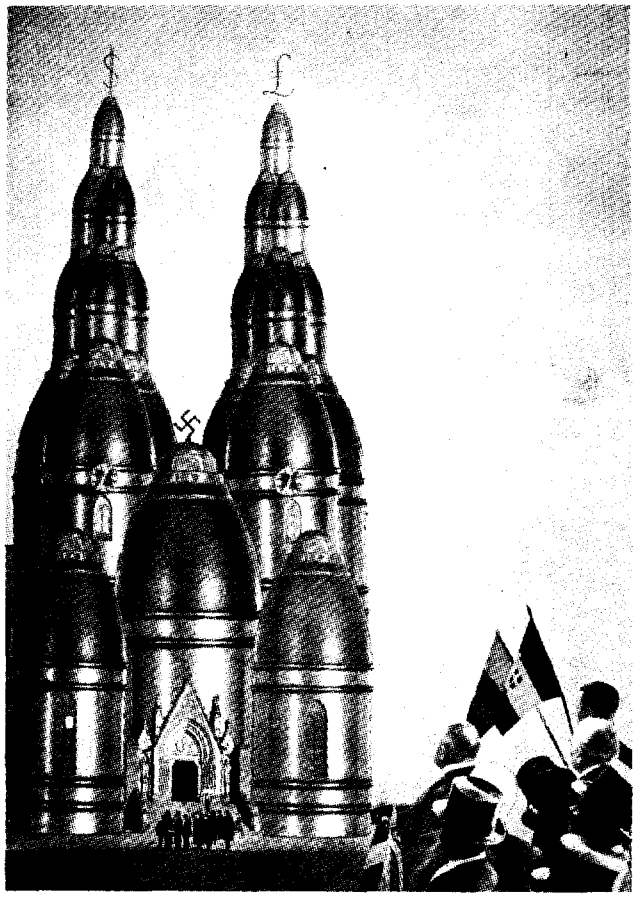
The Nazis also developed a coterie of British capitalist sympathizers including, to one extent or another, the chief of Air Intelligence of the British Secret Intelligence Service, the editor of **The Times** of London (who, according to the editor of another large British newspaper, the **Daily Herald,** "always watered down dispatches from the **The Times** correspondent in Berlin in order to keep any stories about Nazi atrocities out of the paper" and the governor of the Bank of England, Montagu Norman, of whom his biographer states, "It is quite certain that Norman did all he could to assist Hitlerism to gain and maintain political power..." (p 311).

Other British backers included Lord Beaverbrook, owner of one of the largest British newspapers and Viscount Rothermere owner of the London **Daily Mail.** The British press heaped praise on the Nazis and helped them to obtain funds and wealthy supporters:

> ...the German industrialists, aristocrats and bankers were all very sensitive to how foreign opinion would regard the Nazis. When even moderate Germans were debating the merits of joining the Hitler bandwagon, a favorable comment or two in the respectable, neutral British press could be very influential (p. 312).

Rothermere was openly pro-fascist and both he and Beaverbrook urged Anglo-German Alliances. More importantly, the pro-Nazi orientation of the British press was later an encouragement to Hitler to re-militarize and re-occupy the Rhineland, his first step toward launching war.

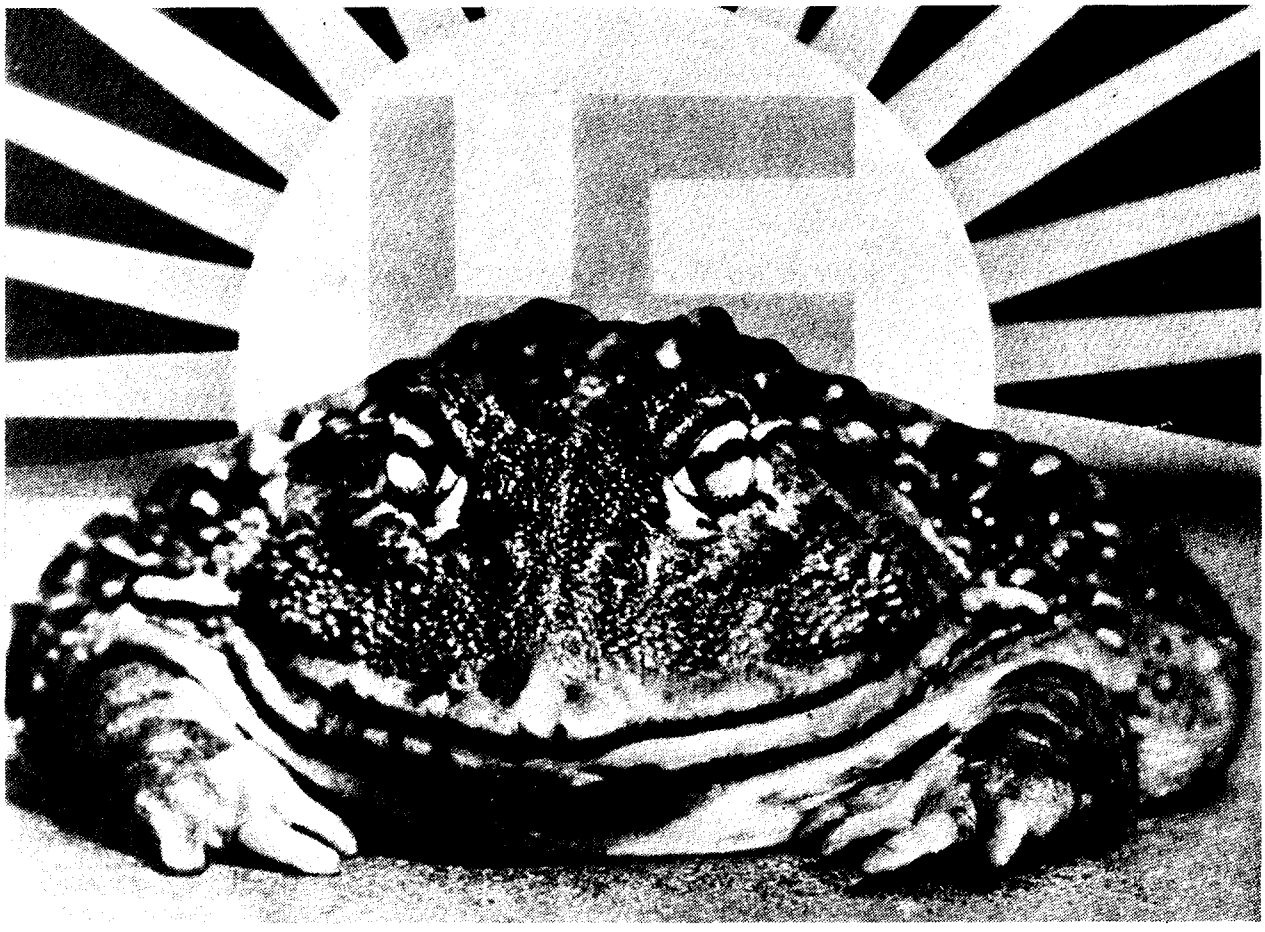
Indeed, the King of England, Edward VIII, was an open Nazi sympathizer. His abdication was not caused by his marriage to an American divorcée, but because he opposed the British government's hostility to rival German imperialism. Much more important to Hitler, however, was the support of Sir Henri Deterding, the head of Shell Oil, who went from financing White Russians in order to recover oil fields confiscated during the Russian Revolution, to buying favor with Hitler. Other prominent foreign backers of Hitler included the Archduke Albrecht of Hungary, prospective heir to its throne, the Queen of Romania and the King of Bulgaria. In the early days of the Nazis, the government of France also may have financed Hitler, interested more in Hitler's anti-communism than it was afraid of his German nationalism.



*U.S., British and French, as well as German, capitalists prayed together in the church of profits. Hitler was their tool.*

Meanwhile, Hitler continued to attract capitalist support in Germany. The head of a large electrochemical firm, upon giving a donation, remarked that he was attracted to Hitler's "uncompromising attitude toward socialism and communism." Hitler showed his love of "private property," for example, by opposing the expropriation of the German princes, even though a significant wing of the Nazis, led by Gregor Strasser, thought support for expropriation a wise move to attract the poor. Hitler "...did not want to spoil his chances for an alliance with the ruling elite," who supported him both politically and privately.

Hitler's first conquest among the really big capitalists was Emil Kirdorf, head



*"Three thousand years of consistent inbreeding proves the superiority of my race." Nazi race theories and "master race" propaganda were for public consumption, while Hitler's real loyalty was to the Thyssens, Krupps and the like.*

of the big Rhein-Westphalian Coal Syndicate, a capitalist who was "so reactionary that he called the (labor) policies of the Imperial German government dangerously radical" and "...thought that those who were unemployed were either lazy or stupid and deserved no help from the state." Kirdorf sent an agent, Josef Terboven, into the Nazi Party who agreed to use the high position that he was awarded (leader of the Nazis in the heavily industrial city of Essen) "in the best interests of heavy industry," which meant, for one thing, to combat the Strasser wing of the Nazis. According to Strasser, **in exchange for his financing and political protection, Hitler told Kirdorf in 1929 that "You and the other industrialists could dictate the Party line as far as it affected you and the properties you own." (p 152)**

Hitler secretly published a pamphlet in 1927 entitled **Der Weg zum Wiederaufstieg (The Road to Resurgence)** "intended only for...the nation's leading industrialists." It was so secret, in fact, that it was not uncovered until 1966. In his pamphlet, Hitler down-played anti-Semitism, suggesting that big businessmen did not believe in Hitler's mumbo-jumbo about Jews being the cause of the problems of German capital. Instead Hitler spoke of "pacifying the workers to prevent a social transformation of society ..." praised the capitalists, and avoided mention of any of the "radical" points in the Nazi Party programme that were designed to attract the working class. The pamphlet was "received with interest by many conservative business leaders..." although "few of them considered his proposals seriously (because) Germany's economic position was not yet desperate enough."

By the following year, even before the onset of the Great Depression, some sectors of German big business were already "on the verge of collapse" and it was these sectors, of whom Thyssen's steel industry was a representative example, that gradually swung over to support of Hitler. Germany was a declining imperialist power. It had been stripped of a sizable slice of its own territory,

lost all of its colonies and much of its raw materials (particularly iron ore, zinc and coal) during World War I. The Versailles Treaty, imposed by the U.S., Britain and France, was designed to keep German imperialism a weak competitor and it "gave Britain and France a stranglehold over German export trade."

In this situation, the German capitalists used the pseudo-left Social Democrats and the trade union leaders to prop up their political rule, and an alliance affected with these sellout artists gave the bosses "...a base from which they could unobtrusively exercise decisive roles in regulating the economic affairs of the Weimar government." **Social Democratic leader and Reichskanzler Fritz Ebert summed up the bourgeoisie's strategy thusly: "The Social Democrats are the most effective defenders of capitalism. For they, better than anybody else, have learned the technique of explaining convincingly to the workers how it is not yet possible to take steps toward setting up a socialist state and why it is necessary to wait...a little while longer."**

When crisis came, it was heavy industry that was hit hardest and that felt it most necessary to shift the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the workers. Heavy industry could not easily cut back on its huge fixed expenses of interest, depreciation and maintenance for its plant. During the great inflation of the 1920's, the head of the National Association of German Industries had termed Germany's wages "the lowest in the world." Now heavy industry wanted to lower these wages further as a method of "recovery," which they thought would be further enhanced by embarking on a massive re-armaments program.

Heavy industry's political center was the **Ruhrlade,** a secret organization formed in 1927 and composed of only twelve men who controlled some of Germany's largest heavy industrial corporations, these, in turn, being interlocked with the big banks. Originally, the Ruhrlade gave support to the racist, but "respectable" Nationalist Party, led by former Krupp Steel director and then press lord von Hugenberg. However, he was also backed heavily by the big agricultural bosses, whose contradictions with heavy industry revolved around tariff questions. Hugenberg co-operated with Hitler in many ways and especially paved the way for the acceptance of blatant racism by the bourgeoisie through his violent anti-Semitic propaganda.

Hitler blew hot and cold during the early depression days, sending his Storm Troopers to stop foreclosures on small farms on the one hand but ordering his forces to not support the workers' strike in Saxony on the other, fearing to lose support among the capitalists. Hitler was also genuinely contemptuous of the German workers. At the time he remarked to the "radical" Strasser:

> Now look: the great mass of working men want only bread and circuses. They have no understanding of ideas of any sort whatever; we can never hope to win the workers to any large extent by an appeal to ideas. We want to make a revolution for the new dominating caste which is not moved as you are by pity, but is quite clear in its own mind that it has the right to dominate others because it represents a better race; this caste ruthlessly maintains and assures its domination over the masses...The capitalists have worked their way up to the top through their capacity, and on the basis of this selection, which again only proves them a higher race, they have a right to lead. (pp 242-3)

Hitler put it another way to his economics advisor, Funk:

> The Fuhrer personally stressed time and time again during talks with me and industrial leaders to whom I had introduced him that he was an enemy of state economy and so-called "planned economy" and that he considered free enterprise and competition as absolutely necessary in order to gain the highest possible production.

The Chief of the Press Bureau for the Nazis and the reputed liaison man to Hitler for Rheinland heavy industry, Otto Dietrich, had this to say about Hitler's attitude toward capitalism:

> Hitler accepted private property and the role of capital in modern economic life because he recognized these as the economic foundations of our culture. (p 340)

Although "smashing interest slavery" was one of the points of the Nazi programme, "Hitler recognized that he could not eliminate the system of interest from the economy without undermining his own political existence."

*Today's capitalists are still the force behind today's Nazis, and the task of communists is still to destroy not only the Nazis, but their masters. Here, PL and InCAR carry on the fight.*

Hitler's greatest pledge of fealty to capitalism was made at a speech in 1931 before the Industry Club in Dusseldorf, an organization "... chiefly composed of the heavy industry magnates of the Ruhr region, the lords of coal, iron and steel." There he summed up his outlook by saying:

> I see diametrically opposed principles: the principle of democracy, which is the principle of destruction; and the principle of the authority of personality, which I would call the principle of achievement.

"By associating his racist and elitist philosophy with the ideas of private property and individual initiative, Hitler had established a common interest with his audience." (p. 347) Not surprisingly, the bourgeoisie applauded this pro-capitalist line of Hitler and after the Nazis gains in the 1930 elections began to treat the Nazis seriously. This was especially the case with firms that were being ruined by the crisis. In this situation, Hitler made duplicity into a strategic principle:

> Henceforth, Hitler's struggle for power was waged on two levels. Outwardly there was his propaganda effort to increase the size of the Party and his popular support among the masses. At the same time, behind the scenes he would try to convince the key individuals that he did not threaten their economic interests... All this ambiguousness was principally intended for those who controlled the levers of power... On the one hand Hitler was making an offer of alliance and on the other warning them what might happen if they were not willing to compromise with him.

The result for the Nazis was the first donation by the Ruhrlade in 1931. In the election of the following year, the top bosses responded to Hitler's call for support and, according to Otto Stasser, the S.A. was "showered with money" by wealthy industrialists. Some of this money went to the factions of the Nazis that were opposed to Hitler tactically such as that of Strasser, who made "radical" noises but "favored the basic principles of free enterprise." Strasser received some money from converted Jewish capitalists such as Otto Wolff and Paul Silverberg, who held top positions in heavy industry and worked through "Aryan" intermediaries. Some

organizations of coal operators who believed that playing upon differences in the Nazi Party would give them more leverage over it also contributed. Other members of the Ruhrlade, however, gave to a fund designed to "expose Hitler and other leading Nazis to 'sound' economic advice."

The Communists and other workers fought vigorously against the Nazis in the streets as the latter gained more and more backing from the big bourgeoisie. Many efforts were made to kill Hitler and other Nazi leaders. The Communists, however, never set their sights on an armed insurrection and in that way sealed their fate. Hitler was able to come to power in a completely legal manner, putting into effect his dictum that "democracy must be defeated with the weapons of democracy."

The Communists counted on election victories as a show of strength against the fascists. Indeed, in the July, 1932 elections they won 5-1/4 million votes and became the third largest party in Germany. In the November, 1932 elections the Communists increased their share by another one million votes while the Nazi share decreased by 2 million. Millions of votes, however, do not have the effect of even thousands of guns.

The Nazi Party began to decline in strength in the fall of 1932. Many Nazi workers were actually won over to the Communists. It was then that the question confronted the ruling class: "Would they let the Nazi movement collapse and risk facing the impoverished, half-starving masses alone or would they come to Hitler's aid..." Needless to say, the capitalists chose the latter course. The heads of I.G. Farben, the Schroder banking empire and other capitalists rushed to prop up Hitler. When the Nazis marched on the Communist headquarters in Berlin in January, 1933, the government also lent a hand. It banned a Communist counter-demonstration and the police turned out in force with machine guns and tanks to hold back the anti-fascist crowds. A week later, Hitler was made Chancellor.

Several conclusions can be drawn from this important study, although the authors who are liberal bourgeois historians, certainly do not draw them. **The most obvious conclusion is that the Nazi movement would not have come into being or succeeded had it not had the increasing backing of important segments of the ruling class of Germany and other industrial countries. Big bankers, heavy industrialists and their mouthpieces of the press used their money and propaganda power to buy and build the Nazis.**

Second, the Nazi leaders had complete contempt for the working class and adhered thoroughly to the vaunted "principles of free enterprise." Finally, it is a grave mistake to conclude that because fascist groups are small and seemingly isolated, they will not grow and win out if they are not vigorously combated at an early stage of their development, using every means at the disposal of the anti-fascist movement, with the ultimate aim of armed revolution to overthrow the capitalist backers of fascism, a revolution that will bring a socialist system that makes fascism a crime.

As the authors observe, "to a certain extent Hitler succeeded because he was dismissed as being more ridiculous than dangerous." We need only recall the famous incident in Berlin in February, 1927 to see how every unsuccessful challenge to the fascists brings them windfall rewards. Then, Goebbels, the Nazi leader, called for a mass meeting in Wedding, a heavily pro-Communist, working class suburb. The rally was meant as a direct challenge to the Communists, who turned out in force to stop it but failed to do so. "The next morning, the Nazis made the headlines in almost every newspaper in Berlin. Within a few days, 2,600 applications for membership were received..." by the Nazi Party.

**The U.S. is a declining imperialist power faced with ever-deepening economic and political crises. Moreover, it is a country with a more obvious history of racism and anti-communism than Germany fifty years ago. Can it be that the fledgling fascist groups here are not looked upon by capitalists as possible candidates to fill the same role that their German counterparts played? If history can supply an answer it is definitely "it can happen here." The descendents of Henry Ford, physically and politically have been backing fascism everywhere—from Iran, to South Africa to Nicaragua—ever since Communists had the pleasure of finishing off Hitler and Mussolini. We too can learn from history and it also shows that a militant, multi-racial, communist party like PLP can lead a movement to crush fascism and win socialism—and that is our great historic task.**

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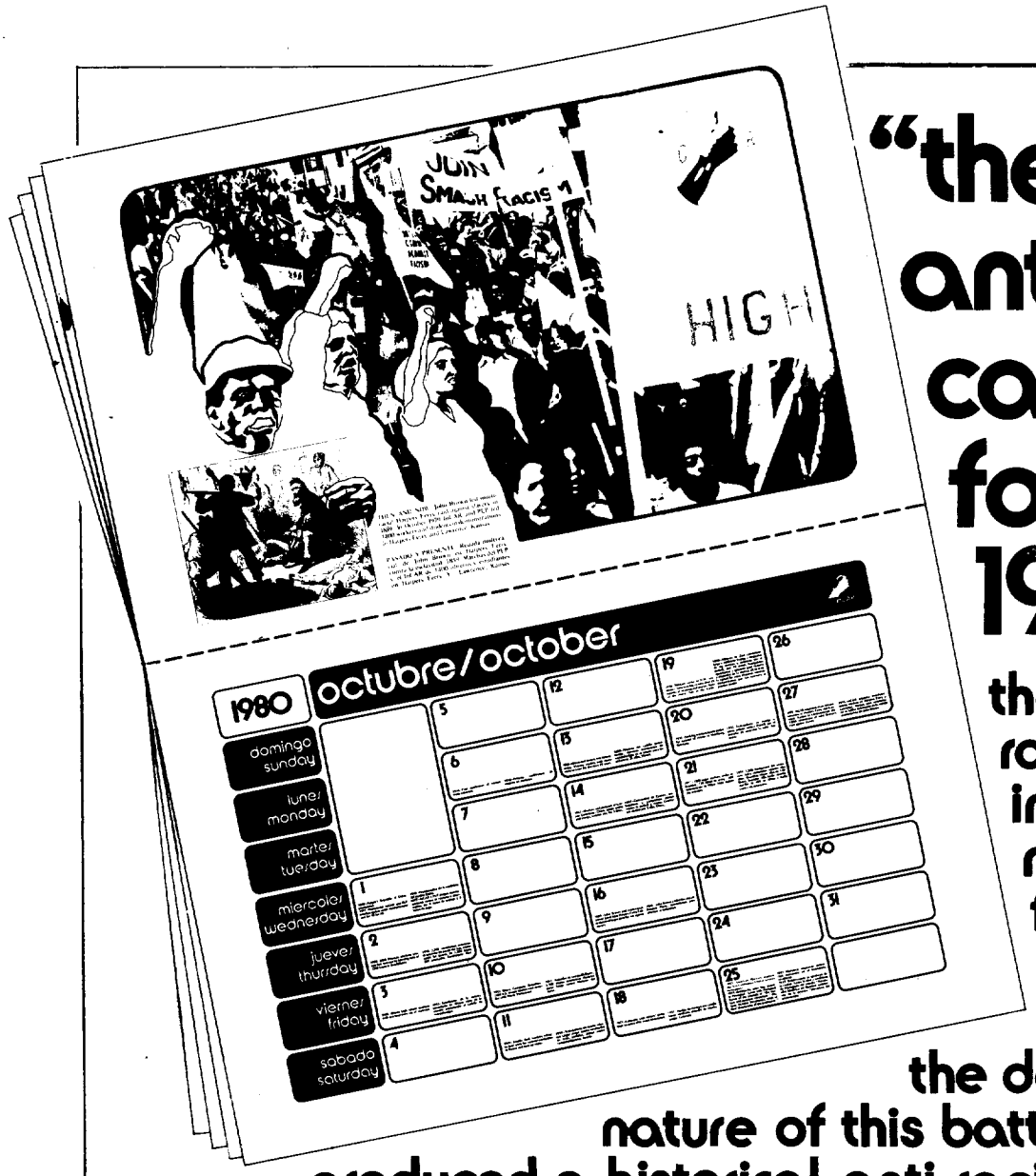


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